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Editorial Notes

AT this time when Christmas presents are being considered and book tokens are in the air, readers may be glad to have their attention called again to some outstanding books of general theological interest which have been reviewed during the past year. In the following list the month and page on which a review will be found are added after each book.

The Life of Baron von Hügel, by Michael de la Bedoyère. Dent. 25s. (July, p. 241.)

Letters of Herbert Hensley Henson, Edited by E. F. Braley. S.P.C.K. 15s. (April, 1951.)

The Bible from Within, by A. G. Hebert, S.S.M. O.U.P. 8s. 6d. (July, p. 276.)

The Gospel Message of St Mark, by R. H. Lightfoot. O.U.P. 10s. (February, p. 41.)

The Problem of Christ in the Twentieth Century, by W. R. Matthews. O.U.P. 7s. 6d. (March, p. 108.)

Some Tendencies in British Theology, by J. K. Mozley. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d. (July, p. 241.)

A South India Diary, by J. E. Lesslie Newbigin. S.C.M. Press. 7s. 6d. (November, p. 432.)

The Protestant Era, by Paul Tillich. Nisbet. 21s. (September, p. 321.)

Revelation and the Modern World, by L. S. Thornton. C.R. Dacre Press. 30s. (December, p. 442.)

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May we also suggest that a year's subscription to THEOLOGY may be an acceptable gift? Owing to the bounty of S.P.C.K. the subscription rate is still unchanged in spite of a continual increase in costs. During the next year the series of articles on "Great Preachers" will be continued.

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THEOLOGY is not the organ of any ecclesiastical party or labelled school of thought. Some of the reasons why we eschew such labels are stated in a letter from Mr Gladstone to a nonconformist divine, which we came across recently in the latter's biography. "It is not reserve or fear which has always kept me from adopting particular religious designations of whatever kind, but it is the extreme value I set upon my mental freedom, and desire to live and learn, and an indisposition to be bound by or responsible for the acts of others, by whom such designations are assumed. I know very well that I do not

in this way escape from the imputations I dislike; every one calls me what he pleases, but I feel they are not warranted, and I rest content with a silent protest."[1]

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It is a long time since we encountered so fresh, and illuminating, and profound a piece of thinking on the theological understanding of contemporary politics as is contained in a Grey Book of the World's Student Christian Federation, entitled *The Christian in the World Struggle*, by M. M. Thomas and J. D. McCaughey.[2] It is a book that will help not only students but all thoughtful Christians to get their bearings in the storms and stresses by which everywhere men are encompassed and perplexed. Moreover, it clearly shows that the common faith of Christians is consistent with, and indeed certainly requires, very different kinds of political action according to the type of régime with which they find themselves involved. It will, for example, assist Christians in the Western democracies to get an understanding of the conditions within which the Church in China or behind the iron curtain is having to bear its witness. Without such an understanding we can hardly hope to maintain a fellowship in prayer which transcends political barriers.

Revelation and the Modern World

LET me begin by paying a tribute to Dr Thornton's *Revelation and the Modern World*[3] as a literary achievement. He handles a difficult and complex theme in such a way that the reader never need miss the wood for the trees. There are passages of moving eloquence, and epigrammatic sentences not easily to be forgotten. The discussions of particular problems on the way are drawn magnificently into the sweep of the main exposition.

The modern student of the Bible has almost invariably thought at one time or another in terms of three familiar problems: the problem of "Jewish old clothes"—of disengaging the new features of our Lord's revelation from Old Testament conceptions which it supersedes; the problem of "the kernel and the husk"—of distinguishing essential content from transitory form; and the problem of "translation"—of presenting the archaic doctrines of the Bible in a way that is to be intelligible in the modern world. Dr Thornton sees these problems as aspects of one main question, namely the relation of divine revelation to the forms of human culture. He shows his own approach in the first chapter. There he discusses the question familiar to Biblical students, whether there is a transcendence of the Biblical religion over its environment or whether the religion is the product

[1] See John Telford, *The Life of James Harrison Rigg*, p. 180.

[2] Obtainable from Annandale, North End Road, London, N.W.11, price 5s. In an appendix there are printed two statements which are intended to be critical of the main argument of the book, but which seem out of place, since they fail to come to close grips with it.

[3] Dacre Press. 30s.

of its environment; and he urges that it is a mistake to be impaled on one side or other of this dilemma. Neither tendency is adequate to explain all the facts. "There was in the Revelation itself some quality which enabled it, not simply to transcend its historical environment, but also to *master* it" (p. 4). But the way of the divine mastery is by lowly condescension. "The divine action adapted itself to, and ever identified itself with, the given forms of history in order that by so doing it might transform their spiritual significance" (p. 5). It is the method of the *pedilavium*. "In that typical exhibition of the Servant's form we can see a wider revelation of God's total activity towards his creation" (p. 5). Hence we cannot study revelation *in vacuo;* we have to study those cultures of the biblical world which the divine Word mastered by lowly submission to them. And (here we touch Dr Thornton's main thesis) the divine Word neither assumed those cultures temporally as garments to be flung aside nor passed through them like a train passing through varieties of scenery, but took them upon himself so as to make them—wonderfully transformed—a part of the organ of revelation.

Revelation and creation are correlative. God manifests himself in all his works as the rays of his light shine upon man the creature made in his own image. But this process goes hand in hand with the converse process of man's response; and both processes have their culmination in the Christ, in whose flesh there is both the perfect filial act of our human nature towards the Father and (for that reason) the perfect disclosure of the Father towards us. But Christ is not isolated. "As God's revelation of himself is spread out universally over his works in creation and his acts in history, so also it is gathered up cumulatively in Christ by processes of slow preparation and of final transformation which we have already surveyed in outline. Similarly on the other side, there are possibilities of response to deity which lie hidden in the order of creation, which await manifestation in and through man, and which are fitfully exhibited in history. These also passed to realization through the lowly stages of revealed religion, until they were finally taken up into the wholeness of the Son's response to the Father. Into the orbit of this response we also have been taken; and thereby we too have access to his Father and ours" (p. 33).

There is therefore a wholeness of revelation in creation, in Scripture, in the church as Christ's body; and in this wholeness Christ is not only a stage—even if he be the final and unique stage—for he is the author and the content of the whole, wearing the form of a Servant as he gathers nature, natural religion, revealed religion, into himself. For the exposition of this wholeness Dr Thornton turns specially to St Irenaeus. It was the purpose of that saint to show that the original creation and the new order in Christ belong to a single divine plan which has the one God for its author; and he did this by presenting creation, the two testaments and the Church as being together the structure of orthodoxy. His importance as a theologian lies in his fidelity to the Biblical emphasis upon the unity of the Word with the created world in all its aspects. "The moulding

of Adam to the image epitomized in advance the long story of mankind which received its culmination when the perfect manifesation of the image was given in the Word made flesh." But Dr Thornton goes behind St Irenaeus to Scripture itself. Here he considers specially the "massive interconnection of scripture itself with the whole world of facts contained in the ancient cultures" (p. 149); and he draws upon the work of Wheeler Robinson, A. R. Johnson, Pedersen and others in claiming that the Hebrew conceptions of psychology and corporate personality and the structure of the Hebrew sentence provide data foreign to our modern ways of thinking but necessary for the understanding of the process of Biblical revelation.

It is not easy to grasp Dr Thornton's thesis without, in the process of doing so, diluting its meaning in one way or another. The present reviewer, however, found the thesis most effectively brought home to his understanding by some of Dr Thornton's own illustrations of the process by which features of nature were baptized into the religion of nature and in turn were baptized first in the religion of Israel and finally into Jesus Christ, thereby finding fulfilment as parts of the organ of revelation. Amongst these illustrations are that of the rites associated with the exodus (pp. 199–201) and that of the theme of death and resurrection (pp. 275–281). The dying and rising of the seasons of nature, the ritual dying and rising of the gods of the fertility cults, the bringing of these conceptions within the religion of the covenant wherein they found a changed significance, the climax in the death and resurrection of Christ—all these are parts of revelation. "The divine-human victim in whom the gospel events were wrought out may be regarded as the Whole in whom all the age-long events of sacrifice are summed up. This agrees with the apostolic theology in which Christ is not only Adam, but also Wisdom-Logos, the site of creation, who as the eternal Son takes up the whole world into his high-priestly action" (p. 280). No sentence in the book will cause more surprise and even horror than this: "If Marcion is wrong, then the authors of 'The Priestly Code' were as indispensable as S. Paul and S. John" (p. 133). Yet in saying this Dr Thornton is applying to the process of revelation the thesis often used by modern theologians concerning the divine action in the evolutionary process —that while the lower stages find their significance and potentiality only in the higher, the higher require the lower as the organs of their own being and activity (cf. e.g. W. Temple, *Christus Veritas,* chs i–iii). In this way the old sacrifices belong to the body of revelation and redemption no less than the animal aspects of man are a very part of man. With justice Dr Thornton says "Marcion's Christ was an isolated manifestation which had no relation to the world order", and there is force in his remark that the liberal Jesus had something in common with this: "neither the one nor the other could take the process up into himself" (p. 111).

Created in order that he may realize his dignity and lordship over creation through the realization of his own filial creatureliness in relation to God, man has at last come into his own in the Son of

Man, in the humanity of the Word who took upon himself our creatureliness in all its aspects. To give full value to this action of the Word in the form of the Servant is to say that "the meaning of the divine disclosure can be apprehended only in the historical unfolding of that form" and that "the content of revealed truth is inseparable from the form in which it has been given" (p. 225). But the unfolding has not ceased, and we are now ourselves within the process. Just as creation and nature were unfolded in the Old Testament and all of these are unfolded in the New, so the whole which is Christ is unfolded in the life of the Church. In the chapters on "The Extended Image" and "The Measure of the Christ" Dr Thornton discusses the process. Scripture and tradition are properly not rivals but complementary facts, and those who eschew tradition as a guide to Scripture invariably employ some partial tradition or other. There are some shrewd remarks about the tensions between various aspects of truth in the process of doctrinal formulation (pp. 287–294); and there is a realistic consideration of the way in which the disintegration of Christendom has marred the process, for "the image cannot become fully visible in individuals as such . . . it becomes visible as a family likeness is visible" and "without the embodiment of our Saviour in Christendom he must ever remain hidden from the world". None the less the image *is* being reproduced in those who are Christ's members, and the Servant's form has "its genuine lineaments . . . in regenerate humanity, in personal character and in relationships between persons", and is imprinted upon the Church's structure and mission to mankind.

Such is "revelation". What of "the modern world"? Dr Thornton is in no part of the book unmindful of it, absorbed as he is in letting the Biblical revelation speak in its own form. But the modern world is specially to the fore in the early chapters on "Revelation and the Liberal Experiment" and "Revelation and the Scientific Spirit", and in the final chapter.

(1) There is the modern world of theological and critical scholarship. Dr Thornton's criticism of theological liberalism is careful and discriminating. Faced with the alarming gulf between the contents of the Bible and the modern world, and rightly devoted to the task of analysing the stages and portions in the history of Biblical religion, the liberal theologians of the last century divided the Bible into fragments and, losing touch with the Bible's own secret of revelation, fitted the fragments into a scheme drawn from contemporary presuppositions. Dr Thornton quotes a paper by F. C. Burkitt written in 1910, where that discerning scholar said that Liberal Christianity was "a compromise between traditional Christianity and present-day philosophy . . . formed by taking some things out of Christianity and some things out of the modern world", and that science with its strict impartiality has been "quite as ready to criticise and destroy the presuppositions of Liberal Christianity . . . as to criticise the presuppositions of traditional Christianity" (p. 46).

Yet Dr Thornton leaves us in no doubt as to his own allegiance to "the scientific spirit of free inquiry which is the mainspring of a

genuine liberalism" (p. 51). The "new biblical theology" which he commends involves on the one hand a reappearance of methods of exegesis which had disappeared, but it involves on the other hand the use of forms of scientific study which, he claims, have a greater chance of coming into their own when once the liberal hypothesis ceases to be dominant. Among these forms are anthropology and psychology as applied to the investigation of Biblical culture, and the study of the structure of language as applied to the expression of religious ideas. The relevance of these studies becomes apparent in a new way when the emphasis has shifted from the selection of elements in the Bible which seem "progressive" or "enlightened" to the investigation of the whole of those cultures which the Word used in the form of the Servant.

(2) Then there is the modern world of science. Here Dr Thornton draws a parallel between the history of the atomic theory, where early results proved illusory, and some aspects of the modern history of the study of ancient religion. He discusses the ways in which the fragmentation of the Christian tradition and the rise of scientific humanism have led to a search for facile false simplicities. Yet *scientific humanism* is no mere enemy. It is "a large-scale attempt to face up to the realities of a mysterious universe" (p. 82), and the frustration which it experiences reveals that "man cannot give form and shape to the complex realities which he uncovers. Rather he has a function to fulfil in a given order. . . . Thus it almost looks as if this epoch of scientific humanism had become an unconscious and unwilling witness to that order of creation which the Christian revelation affirms" (p. 85). Still less is *science* itself an enemy. It is complementary to faith, representing the method of analysis while faith is the key to the understanding of the whole. Yet the avalanche of scientific discovery, opening as it has done new surprises of complexity and capacity for destruction, brings home to the theologian that "whereas faith ever yearns for simplicity and clarity, it is science which now presses us back to a recognition of the mysterious". "The finger of a theology which is genuinely scientific points us away from all false simplifications, whether their labels be marked 'scholastic' or 'liberal', away from every form of 'Christianity not mysterious'; and so back at last to the infinite mystery in the *cosmos* of the written word" (p. 94).

It is beyond the capacity of the present reviewer to comment upon Dr Thornton's allusions to modern trends in science and philosophy. These allusions have considerable study behind them; and they are impressive inasmuch as they are not the usual facile pleas that science confirms this or that aspect of Christian apologetics. They are rather indications of what the theologian may learn from the trend of other disciplines. No doubt there will be complaints that Dr Thornton's thesis lacks "relevance"; but the pursuit of "relevance" has commonly meant the supreme infidelity of creating over-simple syntheses of parts of the gospel with parts of the contemporary outlook. Dr Thornton's book, however, illustrates the possibility of letting the Biblical faith tell its own tale in its own forms and at the

same time watching for trends in the contemporary world which draw out forgotten aspects of the Biblical faith and prompt new levels of Biblical study. As to the latter a great deal of work may need to be done in relating the study of Biblical language to questions raised by contemporary linguistic philosophy: if Dr Thornton does not himself make this reflection his book seems to me to prompt it.

Criticisms must be made. Dr Thornton's exegesis is sometimes most unconvincing, notably in Chapter viii. And it is hard to avoid a suspicion that, if he sometimes reads into the Biblical texts meanings which may not be there, he may sometimes do the same with passages of St Irenaeus. But it would be surprising if this complaint could be sustained in connexion with more than a small portion of the present work; and it is important to notice that the exegetical passages illustrate the theme of the book and do not determine it. In no case, so it seems to me, does a shaky piece of exegesis serve to get round an awkward corner in the main argument.

It is concerning some portions of the main argument that I would raise queries of a rather different sort. (1) I wonder whether in his criticism of liberalism Dr Thornton does justice to the importance of the *ethical* emphasis in the liberal interpretation of the Bible. It is not quite fair to dismiss that emphasis as a reading of scripture in the light of nineteenth-century assumptions, nor is it quite fair to imply that those who took "the religion of the prophets" as the key to the understanding of the Bible were doing no more than interpret the Bible in terms of "ethical rationalism" (p. 70). After all, the *righteousness* of God—received from faith unto faith—is fundamental in Biblical revelation; and to put the prophets on top meant to put the divine righteousness on top. This was indeed not infrequently done with assumptions which severed prophecy totally from law and sacrifice, and ethical revelation from creation and the forms of culture. Yet it is only when prophecy is on top that law and sacrifice can find their right place and creation and culture can be interpreted. Dr Thornton himself draws this out very clearly: "The *proportions* of revelation are re-adjusted in the primacy of the prophetic forerunner over Moses, and of the Word over *torah*-wisdom" (p. 223). But he underrates our debt to those who, like Bishop Gore in his *Belief in God,* used the prophets as the road to the heart of Christian theism. And we need, I think, ever to be aware of that debt. The current tendency in theological formulation to move from the ethical to the ontological, from personal categories to categories of organism, requires for its own safety a jealousy for righteousness and conscience as the place where man knows his creator.

(2) A second query concerns the nature and implications of the human response to the process of revelation. Throughout the book Dr Thornton uses the language of form and organism to describe the incorporation of human history into the Son of Man. It is of course *persons* who are, in the first instance, incorporated; and the middle term between persons and their incorporation is *faith.* Now Dr Thornton makes it clear that the act of faith has a complex significance. When "I" believe in "Christ", neither "I" nor "Christ"

stand *in vacuo*. I, a member of a family, a race, a profession, the product of several streams of cultural tradition, a complex portion of nature and history not to be torn from nature and history by any nineteenth-century liberal atomism, am by my act of faith incorporated into Christ the eternal word in whom all families, races, professions, streams of culture and all nature and history live and move and have their being; and I am—with nature and history still clinging to me—drawn into the organ of the Church and the new creation. So indeed it is. But is it not equally true to the Bible to say that when I believe in Christ I stand before him as at the last day stripped of all the trappings of nature and history and corporateness and isolated both as a creature whom he lovingly created in the uniqueness of the word "me" and as a sinner unique with sins which are my own and no one else's? The act of faith which is the act of incorporation is also the eschatological moment in which each man is isolated and judged. To say this is not to lapse into pietism, whether of the Reformation or the Counter-Reformation sort, but to recall one of the themes of Biblical theology.

(3) The word "eschatological" brings me to my final query. Dr Thornton, following St Irenaeus and other Greek fathers, dwells upon revelation and redemption as a continuous process, moving gradually on through creation, nature, history, the two covenants and the unfolding of Christ in the life of the Church. But it has to be asked whether St Irenaeus himself did justice to another aspect of the Biblical theology—namely, the New Testament eschatology? So too in connexion with Dr Thornton's thesis a query must be raised as to whether it is possible to describe redemption in terms of organic processes and at the same time to do full justice to the eschatological and, indeed, the catastrophic elements in the New Testament.

In the New Testament eschatology, with its double perspective of the last things here already and the last things yet to come and of the Church walking by faith in the interim between the first and the second coming of Christ, there seems to be something which eludes the organic method of description. Is it then possible that while Dr Thornton brings us near to the "wholeness" of the Biblical revelation the very method of description which he uses involves the missing of a tension without which that "wholeness" is incomplete?

Yet when every criticism has been made it remains that Dr Thornton has given a fresh glimpse of what theology means. Working as most of us do under conditions of specialization which hinder us from looking over the walls of our own *Fach* and inhibit the possibilities of theological conversation and creativity, we may find in *Revelation and the Modern World* a window into larger things. And it will not be surprising if the verdict of history puts this work together with *The Incarnate Lord* and *The Common Life in the Body of Christ* as among the most signal contributions which English theology has made towards the understanding of the Christian Faith.

A. M. Ramsey.

Advent and the Prayer Book

No season of the Christian year is so little observed as Advent. This is due probably to the nature of the themes which characterize it, themes which are uncongenial to the prevailing theology of the twentieth century. In parochial worship, though the prescribed passages of Scripture are still read and the proper psalms sung, their content too often remains without influence upon the rest of the service. The choice of hymns and the subject-matter of the sermon tend to be governed by other considerations than the desire to expound the season's message. Various competing interests claim the four Sundays. Consequently, it is not uncommon, at any rate in the north of England, to find the Advent services based on some such scheme as this:

I.[1] Foreign Missions (nearest Sunday to St Andrew's Day).
II. Gift Day (last safe date before Christmas).
III. Training for the Ministry (appeal for funds).
IV. Carol Service.

It cannot be said that this represents the intention of the Book of Common Prayer; but it is much to be desired that every effort should be made to realize that intention. Recent publications have shown an increasing interest among theologians in the subject of Advent, and this article attempts to show briefly what the Church's message at that season really is.

We may find its core in the Epistles and Gospels, which have remained unchanged from the *Comes of Murbach* (*c.* 800), through the Sarum Missal, and the Prayer-Books of 1549 and 1662, to that of 1928. To the four Sundays in Advent we must add Trinity XXV, which was still part of Advent when the *propria* were chosen, as witness their content and the series of five collects beginning *Excita*, of which only the first and last survive in our present book. Two themes stand out as governing the choice of passage: our Lord's first coming, as Messiah, and his second coming, in glory.[2] The first theme is exemplified in the Gospel for Trinity XXV:

"This is of a truth that Prophet that should come into the world";

the Gospel for I:

"Behold, thy King cometh unto thee. . . . Blessed is he that cometh";

the Gospel for III:

"Art thou he that should come? . . . Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see. . . . This is he of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger . . .";

and the Gospel for IV:

[1] Capital Roman figures denote Sundays in Advent.

[2] "The Epistles and Gospels appointed on these days are all very ancient and very proper to the time: they assure us of the truth of Christ's first coming; and . . . they recommend to us the considerations of his second coming" (Wheatly, *On the Common Prayer*, ad loc.). Cf. also H. P. Liddon, *Advent in St Paul's*, Preface.

"*I* am not the Christ. . . . There standeth one among you whom ye know not: he it is who coming after me is preferred before me."

The second theme appears in the Epistle for Trinity XXV:

"Behold, the days come . . . that a King shall reign . . .";

the Epistle for I:

"Now is our salvation nearer. . . . The night is far spent, the day is at hand";

the Gospel for II:

"Then shall they see the Son of Man coming . . . with power and great glory";

the Epistle for III:

"Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come . . .";

and the Epistle for IV:

"The Lord is at hand."

The only lection which does not at first sight appear to fall into either group is the Epistle for II. The Anglican tradition concentrates upon the reference to the Scriptures, but the key to the original intention is to be found in the Sarum Introit for the day:

"Behold, the Lord cometh to save the nations."

This phrase is derived from Isa. 30. 27, 28:

"Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from afar . . . to sift the nations with the sieve of destruction."

It has been altered in a sense completely contrary to the original meaning precisely in order to associate the Lord's coming with the salvation of the Gentiles, with a clear allusion to the Epistle. The latter may be summed up in the words:

"There shall be a root of Jesse. . . . In him shall the Gentiles trust."

The reference to Jesse links the prophecy to the Lord's first coming, in the house of David. Thus each Sunday presents both themes, II being exceptional in the order in which they appear. A natural consequence of the development of the first theme is to give special prominence to John the Baptist, the forerunner of the Lord's first coming.

The Epistles and Gospels set forth the message of the season, and the Collects underline the important points, or express the worshippers' response to that message. In the Sarum Missal the general feeling is one of joyful expectation: the Lord will bring deliverance from our sins, and succour us by his gracious visitation. The Collects are not exclusively related to either theme, but seem on the whole more suitable to the Incarnation. In the Collect for Christmas Eve,[1] however, we find the twofold Advent fully and explicitly set out, with a clear-cut antithesis between redemption and judgment, associated with the first and second comings respectively. The idea of judg-

[1] See the Appendix.

ment, latent in some of the Epistles, here makes a prominent appearance; so to speak, at the last moment. As will be seen this Collect had a marked influence upon our Prayer Book.

This holding-together of the two themes presented in the lections also appears in the Sequence for I:

"Adventu primo iustifica, In secundo nosque libera";

but, apart from this and the Introit already mentioned, little fresh light is thrown by the other propers. The Sarum Missal also makes provision for Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent, and in Ember Week for Saturday also; the latter has seven lessons. Of the total of twenty-four, twelve are Old Testament passages prophetic of the Incarnation (nearly all from Isaiah); one is the Annunciation, and seven deal with John the Baptist; two miracles (Mark 8. 15–26) attest the coming of the Messiah; and the Song of the Three Holy Children is a type of Resurrection. Only two passages deal with the Parousia: Jas. 5. 7–10 and 2 Thess. 2. 1–8, the latter by no means with earnest expectation. These lessons vary in the different Uses, e.g. the Westminster Missal (*c.* 1380) contains other similar passages from Isaiah and Micah, two further passages about the Baptist, and another Parousia passage (2 Pet. 3. 8–14). The general effect of the weekday readings is to give a still more joyful impression, most movingly expressed in the Compline Antiphon: "Come, O Lord, and visit us in peace: that we may rejoice before thee with a perfect heart"; and we can say that in the medieval understanding of Advent the expectation of the Incarnation predominates, and it is a Saviour who will come.

In the Prayer Book of 1549 all this supplementary material disappears, and we are left once more with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. The readings remain unaltered, and thus the primitive balance between the two advents is maintained. The Collects, on the other hand, have all been revised or newly composed: those for III and IV are now addressed to the Father instead of the Son, and those for I and II are entirely new. The Collect for Christmas Eve was transferred to the first communion on Christmas Day (and disappeared with the rest of this service in 1552); it evidently served as model for the new I Collect, with its very clear contrast between "the tyme of this mortall lyfe, in the whiche thy sonne Jesus Christe came to visite us in great humilitie" and "the last daye when he shal come again in his glorious maiestye to iudge bothe the quicke and the dead". There are two important developments here: the lections present our Lord as Messiah, but Cranmer prefers to stress his humility (following scriptural precedent[1]); and the idea of judgment is now set firmly and clearly at the beginning of Advent. The II Collect is less happy: ignoring the real purport of the Epistle, it seizes on a passing reference to the Scriptures in the first sentence, and elaborates it to form the sole theme of the Collect, with the

[1] "This fastening of the Son of man Christology upon a necessary humiliation of the Son of God and upon his subsequent coming in glory upon the clouds . . . these two advents of the messiah which seem so characteristically Marcan . . ." (Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the N.T.*, p. 110).

result that the bulk of the Epistle seems an irrelevant appendage, to say nothing of the Gospel. Granted that the study of the Bible needed special commendation at that period, a more suitable occasion could have been found.

In 1662 the first two Collects were retained unchanged and the fourth only slightly altered; but the third was replaced by a masterly composition of Cosin's. Like Cranmer, he develops the antithesis of the two advents, linking the first with John the Baptist (as in the Gospel for the day) and the second with the idea of judgment. Then he picks up "the ministers and stewards" of God's mysteries from the Epistle, and places them in the same relation to the second coming as John stood in to the first, underlining the comparison with a quotation from the prophecy of John's birth (Luke 1. 17). Cosin seems to have had a particularly keen appreciation of the liturgical significance of Advent: he was aware of the Advent character of Trinity XXV, and was responsible for the introduction of the rubric directing it always to be observed upon the Sunday next before Advent.[1] He also suggested the repetition throughout Advent of the I Collect, thus bringing the idea of judgment into further prominence. Further, he suggested[2] and chose the new *proprium* for Epiphany VI, which is more often read on the second Sunday before Advent. The two Advent themes are duly stated, both actually appearing in the Epistle:

"We know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him. . . ."
"For this purpose he was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil";

while the Gospel is the Matthaean parallel to that for II:

"They shall see the Son of Man coming . . . with power and great glory."

The Collect combines these three phrases to set out the dual advent once more.

In 1928 no change was made from the 1662 propers, and the Christmas Eve Collect was restored.[3] This completes the investigation of the Advent message as proclaimed in the Communion Service, as the only other variable portions, the introit psalms of the 1549 book, appear to be the beginning of a systematic working through in numerical order, without special reference to Advent.

In order to give a balanced account of the Anglican understanding of Advent, we must also consider the Daily Offices. The 1549 Lectionary provides for the continuous reading of the Old Testament from Genesis to Malachi, and of the New Testament from Matthew to Jude, beginning on January 2nd. The only exception to this is

[1] "The last words of the Gospel appointed upon the twenty-fifth Sunday refer to the Advent or Coming of Christ into the world, next to follow, and to be remembered in the Church-service" (*Works*, Vol. V, p. 511). The rubric is derived from the Sarum Missal.

[2] "It were both fit and easy to supply the day with Collect, Epistle, and Gospel proper to itself" (*Ibid.*).

[3] In the Scottish Prayer Book of 1929 a Proper Preface is provided, setting forth the twofold Advent.

that "Esay", who should have been begun in July, is begun on November 28th, and continued to December 31st, presumably out of respect for tradition, as Isaiah is appointed for Advent in the Sarum Breviary. Isaiah is retained in the Lectionaries of 1871 and 1922; the New Testament readings in all three lectionaries, though not without some extremely relevant passages, are decided by the general principle of continuous reading rather than special suitability to Advent.

Special Lessons for Sundays were added in 1561: for Advent, only first lessons are specially chosen, consisting of Isaiah, chapters 1, 2, 5, 24, 25, 26, 30, 32. In these we may discern the note of judgment which the Advent I Collect stressed.[1] In 1871 alternative chapters were added for Evensong, of a slightly, but not incongruously, more cheerful nature. From 1549 to 1922 the Second Lessons and Psalms were those for the day of the month. The above eight chapters of Isaiah must be taken together with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, as presenting the traditional Advent teaching of the Church of England, and they add the theme of Judgment to those of Incarnation and Parousia.

In 1922 proper Second Lessons and Psalms were provided. The Isaiah readings were retained, though slightly abbreviated, and with one more alternative. For the Second Lesson, Evensong offered a choice between two courses: Matt. 24 and 25 (Little Apocalypse and Parousia parables), and Rev. 14, 15, 21, 22 (new heaven and new earth); the Mattins lessons were not consecutive, but provided two series, from the Gospels and from the Epistles, on the Advent themes The proper psalms now appointed are all distinguished by verses prophetic of judgment:

"He is come to judge the earth" (98. 9).
"He maketh wars to cease in all the world" (46. 9).

It may be questioned whether the balance of themes has not been disturbed by this emphasis. At any rate, the tone of the Advent Sunday Offices is now much more severe than that of the Communion Services.

The two Tables of the Amended Lectionary of 1947–8 are of a rather different character. Table A still keeps to Isaiah for the Old Testament lessons; and presents the two 1922 courses, Matthew at Mattins and Revelation at Evensong, each shortened to three Sundays (the first half of the Little Apocalypse is discarded). Three new lessons are introduced, none of particular felicity. Table B drops all but three of the Isaiah lessons in order to introduce passages on the Scriptures and the Ministry. As these themes are also treated in the New Testament lessons, this seems an unnecessary departure from a very ancient practice which even Cranmer retained, while arranging the whole of the rest of his lectionary on the basis of the civil calendar.

After this rapid traversal of the evidence, it is now possible to state with some exactitude the main themes of Advent as set forth in the

[1] E.g. 1. 27; 2. 12; 5. 16; 24. 21; 26. 8; 30. 27; 32. 16.

worship of the Church of England. First and fundamental is the combination of the two great themes, the remembrance of the coming of Jesus as Messiah, and the expectation of his coming as Son of God; the dual reference which C. H. Dodd[1] has noted as characteristic of every eucharist takes precedence in Advent over all other topics. These two strands have been distinguished above as Incarnation and Parousia, but it is important to notice that there is no anticipation of Christmas. The Advent Gospels tell us, not of the Christ-child, but of the Messiah, as testified to by the multitudes (I), John the Baptist (IV), and his own works (III). That aspect of the First Advent is stressed which best prepares us for the Second: Jesus as the Christ, Jesus as Lord. In fact, the Sarum rite, with its emphasis in the weekday lections on salvation, may be said to expound Luke 2. 11: "A Saviour, which is Christ, the Lord". Cranmer, however, has given the basic material a rather different emphasis. First, in his Collect for I, he has held firmly together the two strands which lie side by side in the Scripture readings, but are united only in the Sequence for I and the Collect for Christmas Eve; secondly, he has underlined the important fact that the coming of the Messiah was "in great humility" (taking up a hint from the Gospel: "Behold, thy King cometh unto thee meek"); and thirdly, he has brought forward the theme of judgment to the beginning of Advent. These are not innovations, but skilful illuminations of what hitherto had lain half-obscured. The effect of later developments has been to emphasize even further the theme of judgment by the choice of Old Testament lessons for the Offices, the repetition of the I Collect throughout Advent, and recently by the choice of proper psalms.

The Anglican view of the Advent message now stands clear and unmistakable: our Lord came, as Messiah but in humiliation; he will come, in glory but as Judge. These themes may be supplemented by John the Baptist, as witness to the First Advent, and the Christian Ministry, as witness to the Second.

Three practical conclusions may be added:

1. If justice is to be done to the whole Advent message, there will be no time for such topics as Foreign Missions or the Scriptures, outside the Communion Service for II; and such entirely extraneous events as Gift Days and Carol Services should be tolerated only in cases of special necessity.

2. The choice of hymns should be related to the two Advent themes. Both are present in each of the ancient Office Hymns (A. and M., Standard Edition, 45, 46, 47), in Coffin's "The Advent of our King" (48), and in Anstice's "When came in flesh the incarnate Word" (A. and M. Revised, 56).[2] Doddridge's "Hark, the glad sound" and "Ye servants of the Lord" each treat of one of the themes. Wesley's "Come, thou long-expected Jesus" deals with the First Advent, but all the other well-known Advent hymns are confined to the Second.

[1] *The Apostolic Preaching*, p. 93. Cf. also O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, p. 74.

[2] E.H. 1, 2, 5, 11, 13.

3. In any revision of the Lectionary, Isaiah should be retained for all Old Testament lessons, both Sunday and weekday. On weekdays, Mark might be read at Mattins, and Revelation at Evensong, to represent the two Advents; and on Sundays the 1922 courses from Matthew and Revelation might well be retained complete.

By adhering faithfully to the traditional Advent kerygma of the Church of England, it will be possible to restore to the theology of the ordinary worshipper a most important element which has largely dropped out of his consciousness—eschatology both realized and absolutely final.

G. J. Cuming.

APPENDIX

The five "Excita" Collects (Sarum)

Sunday next before Advent

Stir up, we beseech thee, O Lord, the wills of thy faithful people; that, bringing forth more readily the fruit of godly works, they may of thy loving-kindness receive more plenteous rewards.

Advent I

Stir up, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy power, and come; that, whereas through our sins we are beset by danger, we may be accounted worthy to be rescued by thy protection and saved by thy deliverance.

Advent II

Stir up, O Lord, our hearts to prepare the way of thy Only-begotten; that by his coming we may be accounted worthy to serve thee with cleansed hearts.

Ember Friday

Stir up, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy power, and come; that they who trust in thy loving-kindness may speedily be delivered from all adversity.

Advent IV

Stir up, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy power, and come; and with great might succour us; that, whereas the help of thy grace is hindered by our sins, through thy merciful propitiation we may more speedily receive it.

Advent III

Lord, we beseche thee, geue eare to our prayers, and by thy gracious visitacion lighten the darkenes of our hearte.

Christmas Eve

O God, who makest us glad with the yearly remembrance of the birth of thy only son, Jesus Christ: grant that, as we joyfully receive him for our redeemer, so we may with sure confidence behold him, when he shall come to be our judge.

First International Conference on Patristic Studies

(held in Oxford from 24th to 28th September, 1951)

In view of the great number of learned conferences now held each year it is surprising that patristic scholars should have waited until 1951 for their "First Conference". Yet it is probably true to say that any proposal to hold such a conference in the years immediately preceding the late war would have met with a much smaller response; for in spite of the steady progress of the editions of the Fathers published in Berlin and Vienna and elsewhere, the Fathers before the war were out of fashion. Now the situation has changed. In France and in the United States large series of texts and translations of the

Fathers are selling well, and in all countries where Christian scholarship still thrives the Fathers are widely studied. Nevertheless, the organizers of the Oxford Conference were undoubtedly surprised at the large response to their invitation. More than 270 scholars were present, and Dr F. L. Cross is to be congratulated on his success in adapting his arrangemetns to suit the large gathering which assembled on his doorstep on Monday, 24 September.

Already on this Monday afternoon, when members were arriving in crowds at the Cathedral Chapter House, two things were clear: that the organization of the Conference was extremely efficient, and that it was going to be a very friendly affair. For some members this was an opportunity to renew old friendships. For all it was an occasion for making new ones, and the number of European and transatlantic delegates was sufficient to obliterate entirely the traditional British reserve in the company of strangers.

Throughout the week the Chapter House remained the centre of the Conference. Here were to be found Dr Cross's three lady assistants, ever ready to explain to scholars of all nations and languages the mysteries of British Railways or how to buy beer in Hall. Here too members could meet the tireless Dr Cross himself, who seemed less troubled by the large gathering which he had called into being than are most of us by our Catechism outings. In the Chapter House, also, was to be found the S.P.C.K. Bookshop, where a brisk trade in books and bibliographical information was done—watched with interest if not anxiety by authors whose books were for sale.

The formal sessions of the Conference were held in the Examination Schools. On Monday evening the Vice-Chancellor welcomed the Conference to Oxford on behalf of the University. It was pleasant that the Vice-Chancellor of the day should himself be a theologian—the Dean of Christ Church.

The opening address was delivered by Professor Marrou of the Sorbonne, who spoke on *Patristique et humanisme*. Both the matter of his address and the wit with which it was expressed were much to the liking of his audience. Members were gratified to be told how essential was the study of the Fathers to a true appreciation of classical antiquity, and they took in good part his sallies against scholars who are too wrapped up in their own chosen studies and for whom other spheres of learning scarcely exist. It was a very happy thing that so distinguished and so early a speaker on the program should have encouraged laughter. Those who followed felt free to introduce light relief into even the most sober discourses, and the heavy program of the Conference was considerably eased thereby.

The full session on Tuesday morning was given up to the interesting work of finding out what other people were doing. Speakers from eleven countries described the work of themselves and their colleagues. As one looks back over the crowded days of the Conference, this group of papers and the *Instrumenta Studiorum* (which were also of the nature of "progress reports") seem the least satisfactory part of it. What several speakers told us was neither recent nor

(inasmuch as it had achieved permanence in print) a "trend". Of the papers which this reporter heard and could follow, the Dutch and Scandinavian accounts seemed the models for future occasions of this kind. Some of the others bore too close a resemblance to book catalogues, and one gave the false impression that patristic scholarship was almost dead in the country in question. It is only fair, however, to reflect that the task was much more difficult in the case of some countries than of others.

Of the papers on *Instrumenta Studiorum*, one of the offenders may be allowed to remark that they were too many and, in some cases, too lengthy. Much of what was said had already been communicated to members of the Conference in the form of pamphlets and catalogues, and the attention given to the most necessary of the papers would have been closer had there been fewer to be heard. Among this large number of papers, great interest was aroused by that of the editor of the *Lexicon of Patristic Greek*, which is Oxford's main project in the field of patristic studies. In view of the fact that the present workers on the Lexicon could easily be the grandchildren, or even the great-grandchildren, of its originators, it was very good to learn that they day of going to press is in sight. Many members of the Conference accepted the editor's invitation to visit the headquarters of the Lexicon and were very favourably impressed with what they saw.

It had been intended that the full afternoon sessions should be devoted to major papers on the themes *Patristics and Biblical Studies, Patristics and Theology,* and *Patristics and Liturgy*. Unfortunately some of the scholars who had been expected to deliver these papers were unable to be present. Only the last of the three sessions took place as planned, when Dom B. Capelle traced the development of authority in liturgy among the Fathers and Professor Klauser spoke on *Insignia Episcopalia*. Half of the Theology session was carried out, with a paper by P. Sagnard, on Gnosticism and Mysticism. The Biblical session was replaced by a paper on the authorship of the *Refutatio*, commonly attributed to Hippolytus, from Professor Nautin; this was followed by a spirited discussion. These enforced changes of plan gave the program rather a shapeless and undirected appearance, but did not noticeably detract from the members' enjoyment of the Conference.

The evening sessions were occupied with what among patristic scholars passes for mental relaxation and entertainment—an address to commemorate the fifteenth centenary of the Council of Chalcedon, by Professor Grillmeier, a lecture on Byzantine archaeology, and a recital of Byzantine music interpreted by Dr Wellesz. Your reporter was able to attend only the second of these diversions, when Fr Gervase Mathew thrilled a large audience with his account of the uncovering of the mosaics at St Sophia, the discovery by X-ray photography of paintings of hitherto unknown schools, and his own excavations in Ethiopia. The excellent slides enabled us to see the archaeologist at work, and to realize how much may be hoped for in the future by the work of Byzantine archaeological studies.

Even the hardiest conference-goer must have been shaken as he surveyed the printed program of the morning sessions. On three successive days the entire morning was devoted to "Communications". By a marvel of efficient organization and chairmanship five sessions were carried on at once in different rooms. Each included nine or ten papers every morning, so that the eager student, had he been uninhibited by time and space, could have heard no less than fifty discourses on widely different subjects between breakfast and luncheon. Some of us, returning to our own university, were a little alarmed to find that to the many undoubted benefactions which have come to Oxford from Cowley had been added those methods of mass-production which are so necessary to automobile but so unsuited (as we thought) to academic industry. However, the arrangement made it possible for all who wished to speak to do so; and the only complaint that can be made is that the choice of five papers was sometimes very tantalizing and called for a hastiness of judgment which no patristic scholar would allow himself in other circumstances. The heroes of the Conference were those members of the Oxford Theology Faculty who took the chair at these sessions and who welcomed the tenth speaker on their list as graciously as the first.

It is from the subjects dealt with by about 150 scholars at these morning sessions as much as from the papers on "Recent Trends" that the current interests of patristic scholars may be discerned. About a quarter of the papers were concerned with questions of text, authenticity, and philology. And there can be no doubt that, in view of the amount of new material which has come to light in recent years and the number of judgments which have had to be revised, the first concern of present-day scholarship is to provide reliable texts whose relevance and authority have been established as far as may be. In addition to the well-known *Corpora* of texts, new editions were adumbrated of John Chrysostom, Romanus, Basil, Irenaeus, John of Damascus, Maximus Confessor, and John Mauropous.

Almost equal in number were the papers on the teaching of the Fathers and of the heretics whom they rebutted. As might be expected, Augustine was the only Father to earn any marked personal attention. But, taking textual as well as doctrinal studies into account, the African Fathers as a whole received more attention than any other group; and the great interest in the text and language of Tertullian made him second only to Augustine in popularity.

Liturgical studies produced sufficient material to occupy one room for most of the time, though it must be admitted that some contributions under this heading were hard to connect with the Fathers or even with the "patristic period". The subjects were as diverse as their dates and showed no dominant interest. The related subject of Canon Law produced only two papers.

There could be no doubt of the interest, among patristic and Biblical scholars alike, in the texts and versions of the Bible used by the Fathers; and background work useful for the International Greek Testament, the Oxford Vulgate, and the *Vetus Latina,* was in evi-

dence. But in view of the present widespread interest in typological methods of scriptural exegesis, it was surprising to find only a few papers on patristic interpretation of the Bible.

The Conference was described as the *First International Conference on Patristic Studies*, and it is natural in concluding this report to look forward to the future implied by that title. That there will be such a future was made clear by the wish of those present that another Conference should be held in four years' time and that it should be held in Oxford. But inasmuch as it will not be the *first* such Conference it must necessarily be somewhat different in character. The First Conference was excellent as the first of a series. But for the future it seems important that, as was suggested by the Committee, some main theme or subject should be chosen and that papers offered by members should be required to be connected with this. Working out the right balance between the framework provided by the Committee and the freedom allowed to individual speakers will provide the organizers with an interesting task.

The Proceedings of the Conference are to be published by the S.P.C.K. early next year. They will make a book of fascinating variety. And readers will be able to see for themselves that Dr Cross and his associates have indeed "started something", and that what they have started is very good.

BERNARD WIGAN.

Reflections on *The Apostolic Ministry*

SIX years ago *The Apostolic Ministry* was published. I write as one who was concerned in the production of this book, and who believes as firmly as ever in the soundness of its thesis.[1] It has met with much praise and much opposition. It was written in order to insist that the historical problems connected with the Episcopate must be discussed in the light of theological principle; to call in question the then current assumption, identified particularly with the name of the late Bishop Headlam, that there was no real continuity of the episcopate with the apostles whom our Lord called and sent, but that it was of purely ecclesiastical ordinance; and to affirm that there was such a continuity, and that in the episcopate of today the apostolic mission still continues. It is now said, on the one side, that "the book has carried immense conviction both here and overseas, and has consolidated a vast amount of wavering opinion". On the other side, its argument has not only not carried conviction, but has not been accorded quite the respect that was hoped for; and there seems to be ground for fear that its thesis may be widely discounted as unproved and untenable. I write therefore under a sense of constraint, in order that the discussion may be carried on, and that the two sides may not fall apart in an agreement to differ.

[1] I must explain that as I have had no opportunity of consultation with the other contributors to *The Apostolic Ministry*, I alone am responsible for what is said in this paper.

That there are unsuspected depths in the problem is suggested by the criticism, which several people have made, that the book starts from a preconceived idea and proceeds to find reasons for it. But the actual meaning of the criticism is that our critic does not, as we do, regard the episcopal ministry as of divine ordinance. Let me explain. Faith is our response to divine revelation; and in matters of faith all Christians start with some preconceived idea and reach a fuller understanding of it afterwards. This is the *credo ut intelligam*. Our Lord's divine mission is not something that a man demonstrates fully to himself before he becomes a Christian; it is only when he has believed that he learns for himself what is involved in our Lord's deity. So with the episcopal ministry. As Anglicans, we received it as part and parcel of that which "the Church" means; having received it, we seek to understand what episcopacy is. We believed that there is a divinely given principle embodied in this episcopal ministry. Then comes the labour of tracing out the particular historical forms in which this divinely given principle has embodied itself; this involves an intricate theological inquiry into the nature of the Christian ministry, and an equally intricate historical inquiry into the shapes which it has taken in the course of the long history. In all this, our question is whether the faith with which we started justifies itself, whether our preconceived idea proves itself to be sound; and the theologian and the historian have this question with them in all their investigation of the human ideas and institutions and events of history with which scientific theology and history are concerned. No one is to be blamed for starting with a preconceived idea. He is to be blamed only if he bungles the theological statement, equates his own notion of the divinely given principle with the truth itself, fails to listen to his opponents when they believe that they are witnessing to positive truths; and again, if he mishandles the historical evidence and draws unjustifiable inferences, neglecting to treat with seriousness every serious critical difficulty.

Such (as it seems to me) are the tests by which both *The Apostolic Ministry* and its critics stand to be judged, and by which they must examine themselves; to pronounce judgment is another matter. I have just three points to make, the first two of which amount to a partial criticism and vindication of the book; the third is of a different character.

The *first* is, that we did in some measure lay ourselves open to misunderstanding by the fact that the plan of the book was mainly historical, and that in Dom Gregory Dix's brilliant essay a historical thesis was propounded of the development of the ministry during the "tunnel-period": that there is good evidence that the apostles did in fact appoint apostolic men as their successors, to whose office and function the second-century bsihops succeeded. For my part, I think his thesis is sound. But it might easily appear that the "case" for the Catholic episcopate was thereby made to depend on the validity of a particular historical reconstruction—even, as one might put it, on the interpretation of *ellogimoi andres* in 1 Clement 44 (*A.M.*, pp. 254–63). Was too much emphasis given to this particular

historical thesis, at a point where the evidence is admittedly defective? And would one who remained unpersuaded by that historical argument be justified in rejecting on that ground the Catholic episcopate?

Plainly the matter rests on a broader basis, of which my own statement would be somewhat as follows: That the Apostle in the N.T. is not solely a "witness of the resurrection", with all that this involved,[1] but is also assigned certain functions in the *ecclesia*;[2] and that when we find the episcopate in the second century exercising substantially these same functions, and also in the earliest ordination-rites claiming to be descended by succession from the original apostles,[3] the claim should be admitted as true; and that this holds good, whatever was the actual process of development during the "tunnel-period".

My *second* point is, that both in the book and in subsequent discussion too much attention has been devoted to the Jewish and rabbinic conception of the *shaliach*, and too little to that which alone really matters, the conception of the *shaliach-apostolos* in the New Testament. I think that it was this preoccupation with the Jewish origins which allowed certain phrases to slip into the book, such as "The *shaliach's* action irrevocably commits even his divine principal; for God has conditioned himself by his own word of promise" (p. 230), and, with reference to ordinations, "When they so act, using the ancient Jewish gesture, he himself cannot repudiate their action; another *shaliach* is made. 'For a man's *shaliach* is as it were himself' " (p. 287).

I hasten to add that there is a sense in which it is right and neces-

[1] It is often argued that the function of the N.T. apostolate was limited to "witness to the resurrection"; that this function could not be handed on to successors, and that it has in fact been discharged ever since the second century by the N.T. scriptures which contain the tradition of the apostolic testimony and teaching. It must be admitted that in this respect the function of the original apostles was unique, and that the Church is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets" for this reason (among others), that it depends on the Scriptures of the N.T., and the O.T. substantially as interpreted in the N.T. But the Apostles are also assigned ministerial functions in the Church; see the next footnote.

[2] I owe the substance of the following scheme to Dr Harald Riesenfeld of Uppsala. (*a*) Christ is the Master of the House, Matt. 10. 25; the Church a Household or Family, in which the Apostles are stewards, Luke 12. 42, entrusted with keys of stewardship, Matt. 16. 19. (*b*) Christ is the Head Corner-stone, Mark 12. 10; Eph. 2. 20–22; the Church a Temple built of living stones, 1 Pet. 2. 5, and the Apostles and Prophets the lesser foundation stones, Eph. 2. 20, or alternatively master-builders, 1 Cor. 3. 9–17. (*c*) Christ is the Bridegroom and the Church, his Bride (Eph. 5. 25–32; cf. Matt. 22. 2; 25. 1); and the Apostle's work is to introduce the Bride to the Bridegroom, 2 Cor. 11. 2. (*d*) Chris is the Shepherd, John 10. 11–16, 1 Pet. 5. 4; the Church the Flock, and the Apostles under-shepherds charged to feed the sheep, John 21. 15–17. Here are four images, showing one common structure, and the functions here assigned to the Apostles are all permanently necessary in the Church.

[3] For the functions of the second-century bishop, see the summary of them in the rite by which he is consecrated in Hippolytus, *Ap. Trad.*, II. 1, quoted in *A.M.*, p. 197, or *Liturgy and Worship* (S.P.C.K., 1932), p. 630; for his apostolic succession, see the same form of prayer, *A.M.*, p. 197, and that of Sarapion, *A.M.*, p. 214.

sary to speak of God as "conditioning himself by his own word of promise". All will acknowledge that this is the case with the dominical sacraments, Baptism and Eucharist; God who is faithful has bound himself to these, and the Church is bound to them till the Lord's return. They remain as the sacraments of his grace, and when men profane them and misuse them, they bring God's judgment upon themselves. Similarly, according to the Catholic view of the episcopal office, it is impossible to think that the Church will ever cease to have an episcopate, however much the actual functioning of episcopacy may need to be reformed; and certainly in the book the need for its reform was trenchantly affirmed. To say that the dominical sacraments and the episcopal ministry are permanent marks of the Church is to say that God has "conditioned himself by" them; this is not an indefensible phrase, for God conditioned himself in taking our human nature in the Incarnation. At the same time, it is most necessary to distinguish between purely official and sacramental acts, such as ordaining, and those acts, and utterances, whose validity *is* affected by "the unworthiness of the minister".

If the acts of a Jewish *shaliach* could commit his human principal, it does not at all follow that God must endorse all the acts of those who are sent in his name. We must here turn to Scripture for guidance. But in this paper I cannot attempt to give any full account of the scriptural teaching. For the O.T., I will refer only to the woes pronounced by Jeremiah on the prophets "that prophesy lies in my name" (Jer, 23. 25)[1] as typical of all; and for the N.T. I will take the Supper Discourse in St John, and refer later in this paper to St Paul's dealings with the Corinthians.

The Supper Discourse in St John is concerned with the future mission of the apostles.[2] Of course, the things that are said about the gift of the Spirit to the apostles, and their union with Christ, and their life in him as branches of the True Vine, apply to the whole Church of which the apostles are the nucleus. But the historical occasion is the Last Supper, when the apostles were gathered round him; and the apostolic mission is in fact prominent throughout, and indeed dominates the discourse as a whole and the high-priestly prayer of ch. 17.

The word "apostle" occurs right at the beginning: "A servant is not greater than his lord, neither one that is sent (*apostolos*) greater than he that sent him" (13. 16). "He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me" (v. 20) repeats the *shaliach*-text, Matt. 10. 40; cf. Luke 10. 16. The Son has come from the Father, speaking his words and doing his

[1] Cf. the whoe passage, Jer. 23. 15–40; also the prophet's own heart-searchings about the message committed to himself, as in 15. 19. Cf. also the judgments on priests, as in 1 Sam. 2. 27–36, and on kings as in 1 Sam. 15. 17–22, and on the "shepherds" in Ezek. 34.

[2] Let me explain that in the following discussion of the last chapters of St John I am not arguing for any point beyond what I have explicitly stated (as for instance that in the Supper Discourse we have a transcript of our Lord's actual words). I am simply giving a New Testament interpretation of the idea of the *shaliach*, by contrast with the ordinary Jewish use of the term.

works (14. 10); and those who believe in him shall do greater works than these, because he goes to the Father (12). It is not they who have chosen him, but he them, that they may go and bear fruit, and their fruit remain (15. 16). The Spirit of the Truth shall bear witness of him (15. 26), "and ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning" (27); plainly the Twelve are in mind. So in 14. 26 it is said that the Spirit shall bring to their remembrance all that he has said to them.

The high-priestly prayer is chiefly concerned with the Twelve. Jesus has accomplished on earth the Father's work (17. 1–5), and has manifested his Name to the men whom he has given him (6–8); he has guarded them and none of them has been lost except the "son of perdition" (12); for them he prays, as he goes to the Father. As the Father has sent him into the world, so he sends them (18; the verb is *apostellein*), and he consecrates himself in his sacrificial self-oblation, that they also may be consecrated in the Truth (19). Then in 20–23 he prays for "them also that believe on me through their word", that they all may be one, and that the world may believe. On Easter night he sends them: "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you" (20. 21).

But there is another side to the picture, which receives equal emphasis; and that is the human frailty and unworthiness of those whom he thus sends. Peter refuses to have his feet washed, till he is told that "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me" (13. 8). One of the Twelve is going to betray him, v. 11, 18, 21; at v. 27 Satan enters into Judas, and he goes out into the night. Peter asserts his readiness to lay down his life for him, and is told that before cock-crow he will have denied him thrice (37–8). Then Thomas and Philip ask questions which show how little they have understood (14. 6, 8). Near the end of ch. 16, the apostles join in declaring that now they know, now they believe; Jesus replies, "Do you?" for soon they are going to be scattered, and leave him alone. In the sequel, Peter draws his sword to defend his Master, not understanding that the Master is in reality defending him (18. 8); a little later come the three denials. Even after he was risen, we are told that they knew not yet the Scriptures, that he must rise (20. 9); when they assemble, it is with the doors shut for fear of the Jews (20. 19); and Thomas, obstinate for a time in disbelief, is "one of the twelve" (20. 25).

Yet, in spite of the proved unworthiness of the men who are to be sent in his name, Jesus sends them. Immediately after telling them that they will all be scattered and leave him alone, he says, "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world". All the promises made in the Supper Discourse are going to come true; the frailty of the ministers is not going to prevent the divine purpose from being accomplished.

Such is the Johannine interpretation of *shaliach*; and the thesis of Dr Lightfoot in the appendix to *The Gospel Message of St Mark* is that Mark means the same. The apostolic commission is given to imperfect and unworthy men; the method of the divine working is that divine strength is made perfect through human weakness; and

both sides of the paradox must be upheld. Here, I think, is the answer to the question put to us by Dr Torrance in the *Scottish Journal of Theology* (Vol. I, No. 2, September 1948, pp. 197 ff.), where he accuses us of a species of Monophysitism, as though the apostolic ministry were a direct prolongation of the Incarnation, and there were "a relation of identity, mystical identity, personal identity, between the Bishop-Apostle and Christ himself" (pp. 198–9). The accusation has been justified many times over by the actions of the apostolic ministers in church history; they have arrogantly asserted their claims, and forgotten the other side of the New Testament interpretation of the apostolate, that it was to frail and unworthy men that the promises were made. Thereby they have provided further exemplifications of the principle which the New Testament asserts. Yet the fact remains that the Lord's commission was given to unworthy men in spite of their unworthiness, and the Lord's work still goes forward in spite of human sin.

This brings me directly to my *third* point: that this frailty of the human ministers qualifies any and every attempt that they may make to present an apologia for the divine commission entrusted to them. *The Apostolic Ministry* was such an apologia; it was an intellectual defence of the episcopal office, on grounds of theology and history. But such an apologia, while it can be of great value to those who already accept its main principle, by helping to clarify their ideas, can never bring conviction to those who dispute it, precisely because in justifying the episcopal ministry its champions appear to be justifying themselves, and "un-churching" those who lack it. They intend to bear witness to a divinely given principle; but in doing so they are maintaining their own side in a controversy.

The result is a dreadful and agonizing situation. The best place where the problem can be studied is St Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians, ch. 10–13, where we find him placed in the situation of being compelled to defend his apostolic authority to a local church which had been questioning it.[1] He had indeed an authority which the Lord had committed to him "for building up and not for casting down" (2 Cor. 10. 8 and 13. 10), and for the sake of the Corinthians' own souls it was vitally important that they should accept his authority; but how could he induce them to do so? It was a desperate problem. He was confronted with an impudent and self-assertive opponent, who was evidently a thoroughly nasty piece of goods. If he were to meet this controversial attack by a defiant counter-claim on his own account, he would be arguing *kata sarka*, according to the flesh (10. 2); were he to succeed in beating down his opponent by main force in an intellectual argument, it would be the victory of Paul the controversialist, and it would not be the victory of the Lord and his Gospel. At all costs he must avoid this; but how? He does

[1] I am here summarizing the argument of an article which I contributed to THEOLOGY, Vol. LI, No. 339, September 1948, entitled "St Paul's Defence of his Apostolate", and would refer the reader to that for a running exposition of the "painful letter", ch. 10–13, and the later letter written to the penitent Corinthians, ch. 1–9.

not know how to begin; he helplessly repeats the sarcastic things which the opponent had said about him, criticizing for instance his unprepossessing appearance (10. 10) and his bad grammar (11. 6). Perhaps it is not till at 11. 16 he picks up the word "boasting" that he sees his line. His opponent brags; shall he brag too—brag of his Hebrew blood, his rabbinic degrees, even his apostolate? It sounds unreal to do this, when his apostolate has brought him to a point where at Ephesus he is expecting death any day; well then, he will brag of his weakness, of the humiliations and sufferings which his mission has entailed (there is no sort of self-congratulation here over his fortitude in bearing them), even to the very undignified figure which the famous Rabbi had cut when lowered over the wall of Damascus in a clothes-basket. If he brags, it can be only of Christ's strength perfected in human weakness. At the end he declares himself willing not to be personally vindicated at all, if only the Corinthians' souls may be saved (13. 7–9); but immediately he returns, in v. 10, to the apostolic authority with which he has, after all, been entrusted.

It is a strangely incoherent apologia; but it did its work (with the help of the excellent Titus), and had the effect described in 7. 8–11. It could not be other than incoherent, because in it a man called by God to be an apostle had to assert himself without being self-assertive, without paying his opponent back in his own coin, without scoring any debating-points, but managing somehow to lift the controversy off the controversial level on to that higher level on which alone any real answer was possible.

I owe an apology for quoting this instance, in which St Paul was confronted with a vulgar impostor; I need scarcely say that I make no such insinuation about those who have criticized *The Apostolic Ministry*. Yet—leaving any such notion wholly on one side—there is, from the point of view of us who produced the book, a certain parallel. St Paul was upholding his apostolic ministry; so are we. He found that it was impossible for him to defend a claim to a divinely given office by controversial methods; if the claim that we make is true, it is no less impossible for us. The controversy has got to be lifted, as he lifted it, above the controversial level.

I find it impossible to avoid using the first personal pronoun; and when I say "we" in this last paragraph, I mean it to refer to all of us who uphold the divinely given character of the episcopal office. The criticism that we need to take most seriously is that of those who believe as firmly as we in the continuance of the apostolic function in the Church, but have a different conception of it, and deny that it depends on a historical continuity through transmission of orders. The controversy has got to go on. But neither we nor they can win any true victory in the controversy on the basis of claiming to speak with the tongues of men and of angels, of possessing all mysteries and all knowledge, of having a faith that can move mountains. Yet it is necessary to go on speaking and writing, studying and praying; it was right that *The Apostolic Ministry* should be written, and that replies should be made to it. The discussion which it

LIBRARY

initiated will go on healthily if it goes on on St Paul's level; that is, if we, and they, are determined to listen to one another, and especially to listen to what the Holy Ghost may perhaps be saying in the arguments of the other side. To say that we, or they, are unable, in our own strength and out of our own wisdom, to win the victory that shall unite Christendom, and that the Lord alone can do it, is no mere pious phrase, but a plain statement of the facts of the case.

A. G. Hebert, S.S.M.

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CORRESPONDENCE

BOOKS FOR AFRICA AND THE EAST

To the Editor of Theology.

Dear Sir,

All who value books and appreciate the inspiration and assistance to be derived from a good library will be anxious to secure the same advantages at least for the men in training in the theological colleges of the Church in Africa and Asia.

During the last seven years, thanks to the generous help of friends in this country, I have been able to send out about six thousand volumes, mostly second-hand, consisting of standard works of the last fifty years. These have been divided between some twenty theological colleges in West and East Africa, India and Pakistan, China and Japan, some hundreds of volumes having also been made available to clergy.

The need remains very great. Climatic conditions lead to rapid deterioration and the demand for standard books is unceasing. Commentaries, books on doctrine, church history and worship, concordances, dictionaries and devotional books are all welcome. Where an overseas library has sufficient copies of a book duplicates are welcome for use in diocesan lending libraries or for distribution to clergy for their own use. One has only to visit, as I have done, the homes of African pastors and see the pathetically inadequate little handful of books which they possess to realize under how great a handicap they have to do their work.

May I, then, through you, sir, asked readers of Theology to bear this need in mind? If there are books which they can spare I will be glad to receive them and pass them on to where I know they will be most welcome. Needless to say new books will not be despised. And

I would add this, that in recent years a number of clergy have in their wills bequeathed their theological books to the Church Missionary Society with a view to their being sent overseas. Many most valuable additions to overseas libraries have come in this way. If this idea commends itself I would hope that bequests might be made on the understanding that a reasonable discretion is reserved to those at this end. Not every book, even from a clerical library, fully justifies the cost of freightage abroad, which today is heavy.

Books sent in response to this letter will receive my own personal attention, and I can assure the donors that care will be taken to make the best possible use of whatever is sent.

Yours faithfully,
MAX WARREN,
General Secretary.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY,
6, SALISBURY SQUARE,
LONDON, E.C.4.

THE GOSPEL, WOMEN, AND THE CHURCH

To the Editor of THEOLOGY.

DEAR SIR,

Mrs Niebuhr has made a strong case for the admission of women to the sacred ministry of the Church. But there seems to me an even stronger case against it.

She has appealed to the Gospel: to the Gospel let her go. Our Lord himself ordained only men, and the Church is bound to follow his example.

There is of course no suggestion in this of the superiority of men over women. Indeed, it might well be argued that the reverse was the case, to judge from our Lord's frequent commendation of women as against his occasional rebukes to his disciples.

May it not be that he chose men just because they were coarser "clay", and needed to learn in the hard school of experience lessons, which in many cases women by their nature already knew?

Be that as it may—and you may call it fanciful, sir—the fact remains that the sacred ministry was confined to men from the outset. And the Church dare not break away from the example of her divine Master.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN TOBIAS.

RATHMINES RECTORY,
DUBLIN.

GRAVESTONES

To the Editor of THEOLOGY.

SIR,

With reference to the letter in your October issue, what are we to say to the relatives of the deceased when they see us washing their monuments with "a ripe rich sludge of fresh cow-dung and water"? Permission having been given for white marble, presumably by our predecessor, whose taste was more fallible than ours, and, more important, a fee having been paid for that permission, it would

be dishonouring the agreement to deface the monument. Fidelity to contract is to be as much observed as fidelity to aesthetic sensibility.

Your obedient servant,
M. B. BANISTER.

LONG EATON VICARAGE,
NOTTINGHAM.

To the Editor of THEOLOGY.

SIR,

I can think of no better method of setting a country parish by the ears than to follow the advice given by John Virido in your October issue, and am not surprised that he has wisely decided to cloak his identity under that apt *nom de plume*.

It is a question of that blessed word "priorities". We are all agreed that a well-kept churchyard, with its old and weathered gravestones, is a thing of beauty most heartily to be desired, and all of us deplore the intrusion of marble headstones and kerbs, but more important still is the fostering of a spirit of fellowship, co-operation, and goodwill, amongst the local community. Is this process likely to be assisted by the sight (not to mention the smell) of the parson going round with a whitewash brush and smearing the gravestones in his care with a "ripe rich sludge of fresh cow-dung and water well stirred together"? For heaven's sake let us preserve a sense of proportion.

Yours faithfully,
C. O. ELLISON.

WETHERBY VICARAGE,
YORKSHIRE.

John Virido writes: "I credited the readers of THEOLOGY with more common-sense than Mr Banister and the Archdeacon of Leeds seem disposed to credit them with."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT. By Leonard Hodgson. Nisbet. 10s. 6d.

In the preface of his earlier work, *And Was Made Man*, Dr Hodgson said that he looked forward to writing a book on the doctrine of the Atonement. He has used the opportunity provided by his appointment as Hale Lecturer for 1950 to carry out this intention, so that we now have works from his pen on the three major doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement.

The present treatise is not a textbook, nor indeed is it in the conventional sense a soteriology. Rather it is an outline of a theodicy. Dr Hodgson deals with the atonement as "God's answer to the problem of evil" and discounts "the notion that the importance of the atonement is summed up in its offer of salvation to penitent sinners and the importance of the church in its being the society within which this offer is secured to its members". Philosophical interests have always held the first place in his thinking, and it is char-

acteristic that in the first chapter, on the Old Testament preparation, we are soon introduced to the controversy between utilitarians and the "moral law school" in moral philosophy. Again, one of the best chapters in the book is that in which Dr Hodgson considers the ethics of punishment, and vindicates the soundness of the doctrines of the wrath of God and divine punishment.

The problem of evil is seen in relation to the doctrine of creation. The space-time universe is described as a process to which God is communicating in ever-increasing measure the fullness of its being. This involves the existence of contingency and freedom and an increasing individualization of personalities. It is through creaturely rebellion permitted by God, a rebellion necessarily possible for free beings, that evil has originated within creation. To the question when, where, and how this rebellion first took place, no certain answer can be given, since it lies far beyond observable history. Myth is our only way of dealing with the question, and Dr Hodgson recognizes the value of the traditional myth of the fall of angels. Yet the myth does not remove the ultimate problem of God's responsibility for the evil wrought by his creatures, whether human or diabolic. To that problem the answer is to be found in the Christian revelation, "the gospel that God has claimed the responsibility . . . in the action whereby he is rescuing his creation from the evil with which he has allowed it to become infected, and that he has done this in such a way as to set forward his central purpose to create free finite persons". The gospel is the whole story, from the call of Abraham to the present and continuing life of the Church, of God taking upon himself, not in words to explain that all is well, but in deeds to ensure that all shall be well.

The atonement, then, is the mystery which embodies God's solution of the problem of evil. Christ's acceptance of a messiahship of suffering reveals God's acceptance of responsibility for the punishment of sin; it reveals also the manner of God's forgiveness, as the taking of pain due to sin in such a way as to absorb and cut short its power to produce further evil, to treat it as raw material for increasing the world's output of goodness. Christ embraced that self-punishment which combines the activities of punishing and forgiving. The Church is the instrument for the continuance of the Lord's redemptive activity, and not only the object of that redemption. Redemption itself applies to a wider field than the souls of men, for God's aim is to redeem men in the whole of their bodily life, which includes the material world they live in. Whether the creation as a whole is to be brought to perfection in space and time cannot be positively determined. Christian duty, which is to strive for the perfecting of creation as creation, does not depend on the solution of this problem, but on the fact that here and now creation does not fulfil God's will for it.

A final chapter briefly reviews some of the theories of the atonement, from St Gregory of Nyssa to Oliver Quick, and seeks to assess their value as contributions to our understanding of the whole mystery.

There is perhaps nothing new in Dr Hodgson's thesis, as he sets out to justify the ways of God to man. That is no disparagement of his book, which has its value chiefly in its lucid and honest handling of the profoundest issues that can confront the human mind and in its often illuminating comments. The range of the book is too wide for any full treatment of so many great subjects, and each of its chapters deserves a book to itself. Nevertheless there is much virtue in a wide conspectus, made by a mature mind and presented in language commendably direct and clear. This conspectus avoids superficiality because of the obvious reserves of power that lie behind the writer's actual exposition of his argument.

H. Balmforth.

Ely.

Psychology, Religion and Healing. By Leslie D. Weatherhead. Hodder and Stoughton. 25s.

Weir Mitchell's dictum, "'Tis not the body but the man is ill", if not yet a commonplace of medical practice, is at any rate established in medical theory; and—with the therapies which such a theory requires—it is the theme of this book. Dr Weatherhead declares its scope and purpose in a sub-title: "A critical study of all the non-physical methods of healing, with an examination of the principles underlying them and the techniques employed to express them, together with some conclusions regarding further investigation and action in this field."

The book is divided into seven sections, which may be summarized as follows: (i) Christ's healing miracles; healing in the Early Church; demon possession. (ii) Earlier methods of healing through Psychology —Mesmerism, Hypnotism, Suggestion. (iii) Modern methods of healing through Religion—Laying on of Hands, "Lourdes", Christian Science, Healing Missions, Intercession, etc.; with a detailed account of the several Church organizations concerned with spiritual healing. (iv) Modern methods of healing through Psychology—Freud, Adler, Jung, McDougall; composite methods in psychotherapy. (v) A discussion of the nature of health, and of (*a*) guilt, (*b*) deprivation of love, and (*c*) other emotional states as causes of illness; and the relevance of religion thereto. An examination of Jung's and Freud's attitude to religion. "Is religious experience itself a neurosis?" (vi) The nature and place in healing of (*a*) faith, (*b*) science, with illustrations "in confession, worship, and asceticism". (vii) The modern search for healing through psychology and religion. "The needs of the integrated personality—pastoral and medical co-operation—the Church psychological clinic—conclusions and signposts." There are also six appendices, including useful notes on the common neuroses and psychoses, and the principal features of each.

The scope of the book could not be sufficiently indicated without this extended summary of its contents. The earlier—mainly historical and descriptive—sections bear witness to the author's wide reading and careful study of his material; and he essays a new classification

of the miracles, on the basis of the psychological mechanisms assumed to be involved. The accounts of Freudian, Adlerian, and Jungian doctrine are necessarily too brief to be of very much value—e.g. in the last he makes no mention of Jung's theory of the "self", without which no full understanding of his theory is possible.

In the sections dealing with guilt, and the deprivation of love, and their effects on the personality, the book divests itself of the slightly academic dress of the earlier chapters, and becomes increasingly alive with the feelings, experiences, and convictions, of the author. But if Dr Weatherhead is always persuasive, he is not always consistent—e.g. he quotes (on p. 419) what he calls one of the "dangerous passages [in the New Testament] like the spurious end of St Mark's Gospel, where it is supposed there is safety for Christ's followers from serpents and poisons", having apparently forgotten all that he has previously written (at p. 368 *et seq.*) on the theory—to which he is plainly attracted—that states of mind alone may render the body susceptible to the action of toxins, or conversely proof against it. And one may be forgiven if, in this context, one describes his demand, renewed again and again (e.g. on pp. 319, 359, 390, 423, 482), for a "non-sectarian Christianity" as obsessional. In a short note on Confession (p. 337) we read: "It is valuable to confess to a friend with spiritual insight and experience. It is to be realized that it is quite unnecessary to seek the aid of a professional priest, or minister, or psychologist." But (on the same page) "The Roman Catholic has a clear path marked out for him here, but members of other communions should have *everything that is of value* in the Roman Confessional". (My italics.) There is no jam not in a pot!

From the psychological viewpoint, perhaps the most obvious criticism is that Dr Weatherhead's therapeutic interest (admirably illustrated from case histories) is in the reductive approach to neurotic illness—i.e. the analysis of the case material in terms of causes and origins (trauma and the like). No doubt this is the most practically useful method for those who do not profess or intend to be psychotherapists, but who want to be more effective pastors and counsellors; but it is of far less *religious* significance than the teleological view, which is concerned less with the question: "What led up to this illness?" than with the question: "Where does it lead?" More emphasis upon the self-healing properties of the psyche and the innate urge towards integration would correct the impression which may, I think, fairly be said to stand in these pages, that most neuroses, whatever the age of the patient, are the result of repression in the classical Freudian sense.

In his final chapter, however, Dr Weatherhead sets out his conclusions in entirely the right perspective. He rejects outright the suggestion that the Church should "adopt" psychology, in the sense of adding it to her own techniques. "Let it support all that is being done to heal men through every known scientific means, but let it not be bluffed into supposing that that is the healing work it is called to do." And he describes the power of healing at work in each congregation of "faithful people", who alone can, in a great many cases,

provide the environment in which "treated" neurotics are "cured".

All who hope to be, and many who are, ordained should read this book, which, though it reflects our present doubts and uncertainties in this field of study—and, be it said, our theology—is based on a wealth of experience possibly unmatched in any other contemporary religious writer, and which lays firm hold upon nettles which most of the Church societies concerned still contrive to avoid.

London. Gilbert Russell.

A Plea for the Prayer of Oblation. By C. L. Berry. Alcuin Club Tract xxvi. Mowbray. N.p.

One of the most lamentable features of Church life in England this century is the decline of Prayer Book scholarship. And today it is rare indeed to read a book on the Prayer Book which does not, by the triumph of its author's prejudices over the weight of the evidence, retard rather than advance our understanding of its subject. Mr Berry's tract must regretfully (for it is of considerable interest) be placed with the tendentious majority. His theory is that in the Prayer Book liturgy we have in effect two "canons". The former, including the Prayer of Oblation (PO.), is "Catholic"; the latter, including the Prayer of Thanksgiving (PT.), is "Protestant". He argues from this that the High Church divines were right always to use the PO., and that the current tendency to say this silently before the Communion, so that the people never hear anything but the "Protestant" canon, is to be deplored. Whether the conclusion is right or wrong is a matter for debate; but it is quite certain that it is not supported by history.

The author supports his theory by two arguments. First, it is said that until 1662 the series Consecration, Communion, Our Father, PO. was unbroken by an Amen and that the series is in fact one prayer. This may be so. But Mr Berry gives no consideration to two important points which weaken his case. In the first place, the introduction of Amens in the 1552 book was governed in part by chance rather than by principle (and varies between the early editions); secondly, while the Our Father itself was not printed in full—and so has no printed Amen—before 1662, this is the one place in the whole Prayer Book where priest and people alike would have been accustomed to an Amen from the Latin rite. We may not therefore argue the lack of an Amen from the silence of the text; and an Amen so placed would divide Mr Berry's series as effectively as if it had been placed after the Institution.

The second argument is even more precarious. It is alleged that the constant use of the PO. and neglect of the PT. by the High Church divines is evidence that these men believed the PO. to be essential to a Catholic interpretation of the liturgy. But this is only half the truth. The so-called "Catholic Rite" has been equally accepted by those whom Mr Berry would presumably expect to abhor it. For instance, the PO. is not mentioned among the objections of the Lords' Committee of 1641; and there is the same blank in the

exceptions of the Savoy Conference. A like heedlessness of the "Catholic" tendencies of the PO. was shown by Knox and Whittingham when, in the account of the 1552 book which they sent to Calvin, they made no mention of either PO. or PT. Further, those who have tried to revise the Prayer Book in a Protestant or even in an Arian direction have preferred the "Catholic" rite to the extent of retaining the Prayer of Oblation *with no choice*. This is true of Samuel Clarke and his many imitators, of Whiston and of Bunsen. On the other hand, the High Church Bishop Wren seems to have used the "Protestant" rite. And the Canterbury Convocation of 1879 (during an attempt to curb the ritualists) apparently wished to allow both prayers to be used together—of course in the 1662 order.

There is thus very little to be said for Mr Berry's theory on the grounds on which he has chosen to argue it; so little that it is surprising that it should have been produced by a learned Society.

East Malling, Kent. Bernard Wigan.

The Estate of Man. By Michael Roberts. Faber. 15s.
On Planning the Earth. By Geoffrey Dobbs. K.R.P. Publications, 7, Victoria Street, Liverpool 2. 6s.

In the unfinished book upon which Michael Roberts was engaged at his early death in 1948 (and which is now published with his widow's scrupulous editing), he was not seeking to give the reader an agreeable passing shiver by prophesying gruesome events for our descendants; he was calling for radical thought and action here and now in order to undo the already ill-fated decisions of the past.

The population of the earth increases, he says, by twenty million a year. Erosion and exhaustion of the soil are diminishing the fraction of the land area of the globe which can be made to yield food. Till the industrial revolution was accomplished, each human generation put back into the terrestrial patrimony as much as it took out. Latterly that has ceased. Men live now on their natural capital. There is even reckless squandering. The world, moreover, has grown extremely complex, and its various parts interdependent. Simply to ensure a country's daily food supply, sanitation, transport, and heat and light, demands prodigies of organization. Different skills ranging downward from the first-rate are indispensable to the design and conduct of the mere mechanics of society. Yet there is no deliberate effort to foster talent and skill. On the contrary, strong political and so-called educational streams threaten to drown the egregious in a flood of mediocrity. With the "rape of the earth" goes "the menace of the herd".[1]

According to Mr Dobbs, senior lecturer in forest botany at the University of North Wales, the two are not unrelated, and the blame must go to the Planners. Floods, droughts, dust storms, dust bowls and deserts are, he says, largely man-made, albeit hitherto probably

[1] *The Rape of the Earth: A World Survey of Soil Erosion*, by G. V. Jacks and R. O. Whyte; *The Menace of the Herd*, by Francis Stuart Campbell (the latter published at Appleton, Wisconsin).

for the most part unconsciously so, and not "acts of God" as commonly supposed. But with such undertakings as that of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which begins with control of water and passes to control of everything, the unconscious stage, he contends, is over. The Snowy River scheme in Australia, the Canadian river schemes, the Jordan Valley scheme, the huge Russian plans for diverting rivers, the Welsh and Scottish hydro-electric schemes, and the many other land-planning projects the world over, all follow in the wake of the Tennessee Valley undertaking in that they are monstrous interferences with natural processes essential to human well-being, both material and spiritual. They are only possible, he alleges further, when individual responsibility is surrendered to the Planners, and with that surrender we have the new creature, mass-man. Mr Dobbs is convinced that from the standpoint of Christianity the theory that ordinary human beings cannot be trusted to respect the soil and must allow Planners—a socially-minded *élite*—to turn the rest of mankind into spoon-fed helots is heretical and leads logically to Satanism.

Yet it is the theory by which the Planners impose themselves. The Tennessee Valley undertaking has cost to date, say, $1,000 million. Why not give that sum to the people of the valley and leave them to do the planning each in his own proper sphere and property? Because that would never do!

> Any Planner, any socialist, any liberal, any conservative, any Progressive-minded person, almost any person of "education" nowadays will tell you that that would mean chaos, anarchy, *laissez-faire*, selfish interests would run riot, the law of the jungle would prevail and result in misery, devastation, destruction and catastrophe. The clichés mount up, but they all mean the same thing, that all natural, private, individual, or even "sectional" or "parochial" interests and policies are "selfish" and, in their aggregate results, fatal to the human race.

Roberts points to the same symptom in another way. "We are breeding", he says, "a responsible, far-sighted, energetic class which includes the engineers, the skilled mechanics, the professional labour leaders, the statesmen, scientists, and higher civil servants vitally necessary to our civilization. We are also breeding (and breeding still faster) a class of irresponsible, spoon-fed, short-sighted inferiors who do work that could be done more cheaply and more accurately by any self-respecting donkey-engine or calculating machine, and enjoy the amusements which call for no talents beyond those of the Cheshire cat. . . . The danger is that the intellectually inferior class will accept the implication but try to reverse the roles of governor and governed." And he adds: "It is futile to deny that socialist parties receive some support from motives which are best described as inverted Fascism."

The two writers diverge widely despite their community of theme. Mr Dobbs, who believes that the common man can defeat the Planners if he only refuses to believe them, is something of a follower of Rousseau. According to him, men will be good if they will live as nature intended. He does not consider how men have lost their re-

sponsibility. Roberts shows a Wellsian faith in the technically trained, energetic, and efficient man or woman, and a Wellsian quality permeates his lurid pictures of the future, when the right of "the redundant, low-grade worker to go on living and reproducing his kind" is challenged, when the European birth-rate has been stationary and the Asiatic has continued to rise, when desperately over-populated countries cannot afford military power and will reduce their number by internecine struggles.

But both books call for more than a momentary stir out of the prevalent apathy; they are summonses to think and to act.

PETERBOROUGH. MONTGOMERY BELGION.

STUDIES IN TYPE-IMAGES IN POETRY, RELIGION, AND PHILOSOPHY. By Maud Bodkin. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.

Miss Bodkin's book must be regarded as a continuation of her *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry,* published fifteen years ago, a book that has had, and seems likely to retain, an influence on the imagination of readers and writers of poetry akin to that of the late Jane Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.* Between Miss Harrison and Miss Bodkin some close parallels could be drawn. Both are much occupied with religious issues without being able to accept anything that the Christian world would recognize as belief in God. Both have devoted themselves to the study of myth in the spirit of a religious vocation. Miss Bodkin's material is for the most part less remote for us in time and space. She has had the advantage of being a contemporary and admirer of Jung, whose psychological analyses have given her fresh weapons for comparative study. She also makes use of such religious philosophers as Whitehead, Buber, and Gabriel Marcel, whose approach, though more intellectual than her own, takes account of the kind of experience that can be expressed in myth, but not in doctrine. And she has Plato behind her.

I believe that in this small book we get as near as we have yet to an intellectual statement, in modern terms and for modern people, of a religious outlook that remains within the confines of natural religion, in the sense of a religion actually believed and practised, not only theoretically conceived, without dependence on any particular historical revelation. Miss Bodkin's analysis does much to illumine the persistence, in different cultural backgrounds, of dualism after the Zoroasterian type, of a religion that cannot recognize any absolute, but must revere a divine persuasion, worshipped in the image of the suffering god.

The problem of the relation between this religion and the New Testament is raised implicitly and explicitly throughout. Miss Bodkin never claims to understand the Christian images better than the theologians do, or to diagnose a fundamental incoherence in them. Her attitude to the Christian tradition, though detached, is always respectful. She clearly prefers the Dionysian image of the suffering servant to the Olympian Zeus, the "all-seeing sun", but she does not deny the validity of Olympian images, and it seems to me probable that her objections to the idea of omnipotence are not

so much to the image of "God the Father Almighty" as to what has happened to this image at the hands of metaphysical theology. It is significant that her image of God as "the ideal statesman persuading men to the wisest course in the interests of the whole that their conflicting self-interests and limited outlooks suffer them to accept", is very like the image of "the statesman in whose place we cannot put ourselves", used, if only as "a halting place", by Gabriel Marcel in his second series of Gifford lectures.[1] He does not claim "that it is metaphysically satisfactory", but "the affirmation of God cannot be separated from the existence of free beings who have reason to think of themselves as creatures".

GEORGE EVERY, S.S.M.

KELHAM.

SHORTER NOTICES

THE FAITH THAT MOVES MOUNTAINS. By Cyril H. Powell. Independent Press. 12s. 6d.

In this book the author sets out "to study afresh the meaning of faith throughout the New Testament" (p. 11), by examining systematically all the relevant passages. His thesis is that even within the short span of years within which the New Testament was written, the conception of Faith declined from the quality of confidence in God which Jesus possessed and taught, into a mere body of doctrine. The author is to be congratulated for the way in which he carries out this purpose.

It is a pity, therefore, that the book suffers in arrangement and presentation from the interweaving of two other themes with what, by itself, would have made an excellent academic thesis. First, Mr Powell wishes to make the point that the great need of the Church to-day is a return to the faith of Jesus portrayed in the Synoptic Gospels. He might with advantage have added a concluding section to his book on this theme; instead he has chosen to point the moral all the way along, by means of homiletic methods. Secondly, presumably for the benefit of non-theological readers, he has added "homely touches". Thus between the pericope of the exorcism of the demoniac and that of the healing of Peter's wife's mother in Mark 1, he adds, as a link, this sentence: "From the Synagogue the little party of friends pass out into the sunshine, and thence to the coolness of Simon Peter's house." This sort of thing makes it very difficult for the reader to follow the main argument of the book. The present reviewer yields to none in the conviction that theology can be made intelligible to the layman, but this is not the way to do it.

R. N. WHYBRAY.

THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Mowbrays. 3s. 6d.

This excellent little book is one which should find its way into the hands of "the man-in-the-pew" all over the country; the problem, of

[1] *The Mystery of Being, II Faith and Reality*, pp. 74–5.

course, is to get it there, but that fortunately is not the reviewer's task. Yet it is also so constructive and suggestive, not to say scholarly, in its emphasis and selection that it would be impossible for anyone to read it without getting a vision, new or renewed as the case might be, of the sweep and thrill of Church history. Originally a series of nine broadcast talks, excellently chosen as to subject, each is by an expert. Rightly for such an audience and in such restricted compass, each lays emphasis on the general movements in his period rather than on individual figures whose names might be meaningless; it is thus the positive growth and achievement of the Church which emerges at every point, though where this latter is concerned perhaps a little more should have been said of the contribution of the Church to the life of the world around it; Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, for instance, are names which do not once appear. Among so much that is excellent it is perhaps invidious to single out one essay for special mention, but the palm must go to Professor Margaret Deanesly for her brilliantly vivid presentation of the Church or rather the Churchman of the middle ages—and a flesh-and-blood figure she makes him. It must, however, be said that it is a pity that, when so much treasure is hidden within, the design of the paper cover of the book should be of the naïve and crude sort which is both peculiar and derogatory to this kind of publication.

BARRY TILL.

BURY.

UNLESS SOME MAN SHOW ME. By Alexander Jones. Sheed and Ward. 8s. 6d.

THE SAVING HISTORY. By J. R. Coates. Lutterworth Press. 3s. 6d.

ARCHAEOLOGY GIVES EVIDENCE. By A. Rendle Short. Tyndale Press. 2s.

In the first of these books Fr Jones has collected together articles written in popular vein over the last three years for the *Catholic Gazette*. There is here some merry polemics; and it is refreshing to see how liberal a standpoint can be officially adopted towards the Old Testament, even to the point of admitting that the Vulgate can be wrong. The book is in the main a racy statement of the Roman principles of interpretation, illustrated by application to certain isolated texts. This is what to the present reviewer is the book's limitation—that it is a study of random texts rather than of Old Testament themes or writers. But there are quite interesting treatments of the Song of Songs and of the Book of Jonah. The earlier chapters present in popular form the Papal Bull *Divino Afflante*. There is an obvious misprint on page 24 (B.C. for A.D.).

Of the three books *The Saving History* seems to make the most worth-while contribution. God's treatment of Israel is shown to be a type of his treatment of all nations; and Old Testament issues are brought alive in terms of the present day. In a short compass Mr Coates has dealt with seven contemporary themes such as Religion in Politics, or Humanism, and shown how the Old Testament throws

light on living issues of to-day. His is a thoroughly useful book whether or not one agrees with all his analogies. He does succeed in presenting the works and the writers of the Old Testament in their historical setting. Personally I found the chapter on Daniel and the Challenge of Greek culture his best.

Thirdly, we have a pamphlet, epitomizing the author's *Modern Discovery and the Bible,* published under the auspices of the I.V.F. In *Archaeology gives Evidence,* we are given a brief conspectus of recent discoveries. But sometimes the author gets carried away by the fact that many things found incredible fifty years ago have now received support from archaeology; and he commits himself to conclusions not warranted by a sound judgment—as for instance the historicity of the Book of the Daniel.

Ronald Lunt.

Liverpool College.

William Blake. By H. M. Margoliouth. O.U.P. 5s.

A new book about William Blake is becoming an annual event. This one by Mr Margoliouth is brief and readable and gives most of the facts of his life and works with compression and charm. At 5s. the book is quite exceptional value.

In spite of the spate of literature about him Blake continues to defy analysis. A self-educated genius, he revolted against all systems, and remained to the end the enemy of ecclesiasticism in all its forms. But Blake passionately loved the Lord Jesus, and in his finest works, such as the Job engravings and the Christ paintings in tempera and water-colour, he expressed his religious convictions with a force and beauty which have not been equalled by another Englishman. Blake is at his best when most in tune with the divine harmony, as in his lyric poetry, and in his religious pictures.

Mr Margoliouth likens Blake to St Paul, but a closer analogy is with John Bunyan. Both were self-educated, both reared on a single book, the Bible; both saw visions and received a call; both responded directly and whole-heartedly; both remained without the Established Church; both laboured ceaselessly, Bunyan producing sixty books, Blake nearly a thousand paintings and drawings, besides the mass of his poetry. Both are witnesses—can we doubt that they were raised up for this purpose?—for spiritual liberty and to warn us against overvaluing religious systems, whatever their nature.

Mr Margoliouth devotes half his space to explaining the symbolic personages of the Prophetic Books in terms of Blake's own psychological development. He appreciates better than most commentators that Blake's poetry cannot be understood apart from the illustrations which adorn every one of the poems he published. If no other commentator has succeeded in explaining so much so briefly, it nevertheless remains true that Blake's Prophetic Books are not the most important of his works. They may be necessary to a full understanding of Blake, just as the sonnets are necessary to a full understanding of Shakespeare. But as Shakespeare is valued primarily for the plays,

so Blake is to be estimated primarily by his lyrical poetry, painting and engraving. Mr Margoliouth believes Blake will eventually be judged as even greater as artist than as poet. It is to be hoped that some writer with the necessary artistic qualifications will be inspired to do for Blake's artistic output what Mr Margoliouth, with his literary gifts, has so ably done for Blake's poetry in this important little volume.

GEORGE GOYDER.

ST CYRIL OF JERUSALEM'S LECTURES ON THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS. Edited by F. L. Cross. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

In this admirable little book Professor Cross has provided a very handy edition of the Procatechesis and the five Mystagogical Catecheses of St Cyril. Cyril's work is of the greatest historical importance, and of his influence there can be no question, although opinions will differ as to how beneficial that influence was. The lectures make delightful reading with their profound pastoral concern and insight. They are here provided with an introduction of 41 pages, the excellence of which is all that we should expect. An outline is given of Cyril's life, of the liturgical evidence of the lectures, and of Cyril's theology. On Cyril's theological statements no one will dispute Professor Cross's comment: "What this all came to in terms of orthodoxy it is not easy to say." Particularly interesting are the remarks on pilgrimages and on the dominant role of Eusebius of Caesarea in fostering them. There is much to be said for the suggestion that the visit to Palestine of Helena, the queen-mother, in 326 (the present reviewer is gratified to find Professor Cross accepting this date which has been violently criticized) was prompted by the famous church historian. In fact, "without Eusebius devotion to the Holy Places might never have arisen". Concerning the question of authenticity, Professor Cross declares against the widely held view that the five mystagogical catecheses are the work of John, his successor, an ascription for which there is some manuscript authority. He would explain the attribution to John by the assumption that John used Cyril's excellent lectures for his own catechizing. The introduction concludes with a useful bibliography, to which the English translation of Etheria by M. L. McClure could perhaps have some claim to be added.

The text "does not pretend to be more than a revision of those already in print". At the end of the volume there is a reprint of Dean Church's classic translation of the lectures made for the Oxford Library of the Fathers.

H. CHADWICK.

QUEENS' COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

METHODS AND RESULTS OF KIERKEGAARD STUDIES IN SCANDINAVIA. A Historical and Critical Survey. By Aage Henriksen. Ejnar Munksgard, Copenhagen. 21s.

This is the first publication of the Kierkegaard Society of Copen-

hagen and it sets an excellent standard. The author works his way through the mass of writing from the first edition of the Papers to the most recent work of Hohlenberg, yet not as a mere redactor. It is much to be hoped that no English scholar will attempt to write about Kierkegaard who does not know at least this volume, as indicating the wealth of scholarship and insight which has been lavished on Kierkegaard by his fellow-countrymen. A similar work on the German contribution to Kierkegaard studies would likewise be a great benefit. English workers, coming late into the field, would benefit greatly from a clear view of the achievements as well as the failures of Continental scholars.

R. Gregor Smith.

London.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Mention here neither implies nor precludes subsequent comment.*)

Allen and Unwin: Albert Peel and L. H. Carlson (Ed.), *Carturightiana* (25s.).

Berean Press: Thomas Campbell, *Declaration and Address* (A remarkable document on Christian unity produced in 1809; with introduction by William Robinson) (n.p.).

Blackfriars: Victor White, O.P., *How to Study* (Latin text with translation, exposition and notes of Aquinas' *De Modo Studendi*) (1s. 6d.).

Canterbury Diocesan Committee for Adult Religious Education: *Forward: outlines of study courses* (2s.).

Dacre Press: Robert S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (25s.); Austin Farrer, *A Study in St Mark* (25s.).

Faber and Faber: E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer (Trans.), *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart* (30s.); Leslie Paul, *Angry Young Man* (18s.).

Lutterworth Press: C. V. Pilcher, *The Epistle of St Paul to the Romans* (1s. 6d.).

Mowbray: John Castle, *Cambridge Churchmen* (1s.).

Nisbet: A. D. Galloway, *The Cosmic Christ* (16s.).

Oxford University Press: B.B.C. Hymn Book (words only, 6s.; words and music, 12s. 6d.); Herbert Butterfield, *Christianity in European History* (Riddell Memorial Lectures) (5s.).

Paternoster Press: F. F. Bruce, *The Growing Day* (6s.).

Pickering and Inglis: John Macbeath, *Voices of the Woods (for Young People of all Ages)* (5s. 6d.).

Presses Universitaires de France: Oscar Cullmann, *Les Sacrements dans L'Évangile Johannique* (400 fr.).

S.C.M. Press: Jacques Ellul, *The Presence of the Kingdom* (9s. 6d.); John Foster, *After the Apostles* (7s. 6d.).

Sheed and Ward: *Satan* (30s.).

S.P.C.K.: Peter Winkworth, *A Simple Approach to the Canon Law* (2s. 6d.).

Tyndale Press: F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (25s.).

University of Wales Press: H. H. Rowley, *Submission in Suffering* (12s. 6d.).

Zwingli-Verlag (Zürich): Walther Eichrodt, *Gottes Ruf in Alten Testament* (Fr. 5.70).

INDEX TO VOLUME XIV

JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1951

PAGE

ADDISON, W. G. 329
Advent and the Prayer Book 449
American Letters 89, 381
"*Apostolic Ministry, The*", *Reflections on* 459
Archbishop Brilioth's Charge 21
Assumption of the B.V.M. 63, 183, 406

BARRETT, C. K. 162
BENNETT, V. 406
Bernard, St 173
BLAKENEY, E. H. 177

BOOKS REVIEWED (see also "Shorter Notices"):
Addison, *Worthy Dr Fuller* (Editorial) 121
Baxter, *Gerald of Wales* (P. J. Lamb) 392
Berdyaev, *Dream and Reality* (M. Chaning-Pearce) 28
Bergsten, *Pastoral Psychology* (L. W. Grensted) 350
Berry, *A Plea for the Prayer of Oblation* (B. Wigan) 472
Bethell, *The Cultural Revolution of the 17th Century* (N. Nicholson) . . 388
Bodkin, *Type-Images in Poetry, Religion, and Philosophy* (G. Every) . . 475
Braley, *Letters of H. H. Henson* (D. H. S. Cranage) 156
Brother Edward (Ed.), *Behold, thy King Cometh!* (J. A. T. Robinson) . 157
Bruce, *The Books and the Parchments* (T. E. N. Pennell) 356
Cammaerts, *For Better, for Worse* (S. Bailey) 33
Carter, *The Methodist Heritage* (G. I. F. Thomson) 437
Casserley, *Morals and Man in the Social Sciences* (R. H. Preston) . . 429
Cassirer, *The Problem of Knowledge* (I. T. Ramsey) 433
Chadwick, *John Cassian* (W. Telfer) 111
Christianity and Broadcasting (Editorial) 81
Collier, *The Science of Humanity* (A. H. Richmond) 189
Congar, *Vraie et fausse Réforme* (Bishop of Durham) 225
Cook, *The Theology of Evangelism* (E. J. Tinsley) 435
Coventry, *Faith Seeks Understanding* (E. J. Tinsley) 435
Cragg, *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason* (T. Wood) 311
Davies, *The Early Cornish Evangelicals* (G. Rogers) 386
de la Bedoyère, *The Life of Baron von Hügel* (Editorial) 241
Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons* (F. J. E. Raby) . . . 151
Dobbs, *On Planning the Earth* (M. Belgion) 473
Duncan, *Our Lady's Tumbler* (P. J. Lamb) 392
Flew (Ed.), *Logic and Language* (M. Masterman) 272
Frank, *A Solovyov Anthology* (S. Jackman) 113
Gambling: an Ethical Discussion (Editorial) 1
Guitton, *Essay on Human Love* (S. Bailey) 353
Henderson, *The Claims of the Church of Scotland* (Bishop of Brechin) . . 384
Henson, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life* (N. Sykes) 112
Hewat, *Christ and Western India* (L. M. Schiff) 349
Hildebrandt, *From Luther to Wesley* (A. R. George) 352
Hill, *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton* (M. Deanesly) . . 76
Hodgson, *The Doctrine of the Atonement* (H. Balmforth) 468
Jenkins, *Tradition and the Spirit* (R. P. C. Hanson) 424
Johnson, *Christian Love* (S. Bailey) 191
Kaftal, *St Francis in Italian Painting* (J. H. L. Waterson) 190
Kerr, *Positive Protestantism* (J. H. Jacques) 351
Knox, *Enthusiasm* (W. K. L. Clarke) 154
Lamb, *Roman Road* (M. P. Ralph Bowman) 314
Lawson, *What do we believe?* (E. J. Tinsley) 435
Lewis, *Morals and Revelation* (N. H. G. Robinson) 306
Lightfoot, *The Gospel Message of St Mark* (Editorial) 41
Lloyd, *The Church of England in the 20th Century* (N. Sykes) . . . 73
Loane, *Oxford and the Evangelical Succession* (G. Rogers) 188

PAGE

Lofthouse, *F. H. Bradley* (J. S. Bezzant) 391
Lowrie, *J. G. Hamann* (M. Belgion) 389
McLachlan, *Socinianism in 17th-Century England* (H. R. McAdoo) . . 309
Marchant (Ed.), *The Coming-of-Age of Christianity* (B. Till) . . . 354
Martin, *The Wings of Faith* (T. H. Croxall) 193
Matthews, *The Problem of Christ in the 20th Century* (L. W. Grensted) . 108
Middleton, *Newman at Oxford* (L. Bouyer) 29
Mortimer, *Christian Ethics* (H. C. L. Heywood) 114
Mozley, *Some Tendencies in British Theology* (Editorial) 241
Mozley, *The Theology of Albert Schweitzer* (H. K. Archdall) . . . 270
Nédoncelle, *Trois Aspects du Problème Anglo-catholique* (R. Cant) . . 428
Newbigin, *A South India Diary* (L. M. Schiff) 432
Nicklin, *Gospel Gleanings* (J. N. Sanders) 31
Northcott, *The Venture of Prayer* (Bishop of Brechin) 185
Parrinder, *West African Psychology* (C. G. Baëta) 348
Primer of Christianity (J. C. Sladden) 101
Purvis, *The York Cycle of Mystery Plays* (P. J. Lamb) 392
Rawlinson, *Problems of Reunion* (Dean of Windsor) 229
Reade, *The Christian Challenge to Philosophy* (H. C. L. Heywood) . . 268
Roberts, *The Estate of Man* (M. Belgion) 472
Robinson, *Faith and Duty* (W. R. F. Browning) 106
Robinson, *In the End, God . . .* (R. H. Fuller) 269
Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua* (F. S. Marsh) 105
Rowley (Ed.), *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (J. R. Porter) . . 426
Rupp, *Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms* (W. O. Chadwick) . . 314
Sanders, *The Foundations of the Christian Faith* (V. Taylor) . . . 308
Scroggie, *Psalms* (J. R. Peacey) 273
Seaver, *Albert Schweitzer: a Vindication* (H. K. Archdall) 270
Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Man* (R. H. Preston) 429
Thomas and McCaughey, *The Christian in the World Struggle* (Editorial) . 442
Thornton, *Revelation and the Modern World* (A. M. Ramsey) . . . 442
Tillich, *The Protestant Era* (Editorial) 321
Tiverton, *D. H. Lawrence and Human Existence* (M. Belgion) . . . 230
Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism* (G. R. Dunstan) 152
Ussher, *The Magic People* (M. Belgion) 312
Vipper, *Vozniknovenie Christianskoi Literatury* (R. P. Casey) . . . 32
Weatherhead, *Psychology, Religion and Healing* (G. L. Russell) . . . 470
Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (A. Tillyard) 78
Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D.* (C. Jenkins) . . . 387
Willis, *St Augustine and the Donatist Controversy* (J. H. S. Burleigh) . . 109
Wright, *The Old Testament against its Environment* (J. R. Porter) . . 186
Yarnold, *Christianity and Physical Science* (G. N. Walton) 155

Bossuet 59
Bristol, Bishop of 202
Byrom, J. K. 173

Calvin 93
Chadwick, W. O. 42
Chavasse, C. 99, 244, 289
Christianity and Freemasonry 130
Church Relations in England 202
Cnattingius, H. 21
Coggan, F. D. 136
Confirmation in the Church of Scotland 217
Correspondence . . 27, 71, 100, 145, 178, 223, 264, 301, 345, 384, 421, 466
Creation and Incarnation 411
Cuming, G. J. 449

Dahl, M. E. 122
Dammers, A. H. 260

PAGE

DANIÉLOU, J. 10
DART, J. L. C. 130
Dean Church 257
Death, Reflections on 402

Evening Sacrifice, The 122, 265

FARRER, A. 335
Free Church Objections to Episcopacy 209
Funerals 169, 264, 301, 345, 423

GARRETT, T. S. 140
Gospel, Women, and the Church, The 322, 370, 421, 467
Great Preachers 10, 59, 93, 136, 173, 257, 284, 342, 376, 417
GUMMER, S. 417

HANNAH, W. 3, 178
HEBERT, A. G. 459
HODGSON, L. 281
Hymn Tune in the English Church, The 250

Jesus: Christ and *Moses* 244, 289
Jubilee Young 417

KEAN, C. D. 381
KLEINHANS, T. J. 342

LAMPERT, E. 402
Linguistic Philosophy and Dogmatic Theology 82, 223
Luther 284

MASCALL, E. L. 362
MASTERMAN, M. 15, 51, 82
Meaning of ὑπόστασις, The 177, 304
Messianic Prophecy 335
Ministry in Scripture and Tradition, The 140
MONTIZAMBERT, E. 89

NIEBUHR, U. M. 322, 370

On the Gentiles Also? 260
Origen 10
OWEN, H. P. 411

PARKER, T. H. L. 93
Patristic Studies, Conference on 455
PAYNE, E. A. 209, 376
PHILLIPS, G. L. 59
Philosophy of Language, The 51
Political Note, A 97
Primacy of Praise, The 362

RAMSEY, A. M. 442
Religious Value of Episcopacy, The 281
Revelation and the Modern World 442

SCUPHOLME, A. C. 257
Shorter Notices 34, 79, 116, 159, 194, 232, 274, 315, 356, 394, 438, 476
Should a Christian be a Freemason? 3, 130, 145, 162, 178, 266
Simeon, Charles 136, 296
SISSON, C. H. 97

PAGE

SMELLIE, W. A. 217
Sovereignty of God, The 162
Spurgeon 376
Studies in Texts 99

Tent-makers 42, 148, 224, 306
Three Wiltshire Parsons 329
TURNER, H. E. W. 64

VALENTINE, C. H. 250

WATSON, P. S. 284
WEBSTER, D. 296
What is *Philosophy Nowadays?* 15
WIGAN, B. 455
WILD, E. 169
WINCHESTER, DEAN OF 207
Wyclif 342

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